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IRELAND,
AS IT WAS,—IS,—AND OUGHT TO BE;

WITH A

COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL CHART

OF THE

POPULATION—HOUSES—VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE;
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS, PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC;
NUMBER OF BARONIES AND PARISHES;
NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS AND STAMPS ISSUED;
REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT; GRAND JURY PRESENTMENTS;
SAVINGS BANKS AND AMOUNT OF DEPOSITS;
PROPRIETORS' INCOME FROM LAND;
RENTING RATE OF LAND TO LANDLORDS AND MIDDLEMEN;
AREA IN SQUARE MILES AND ACRES;
PROPORTION OF INHABITANTS TO LAND, &c. &c.
OF EACH COUNTY.

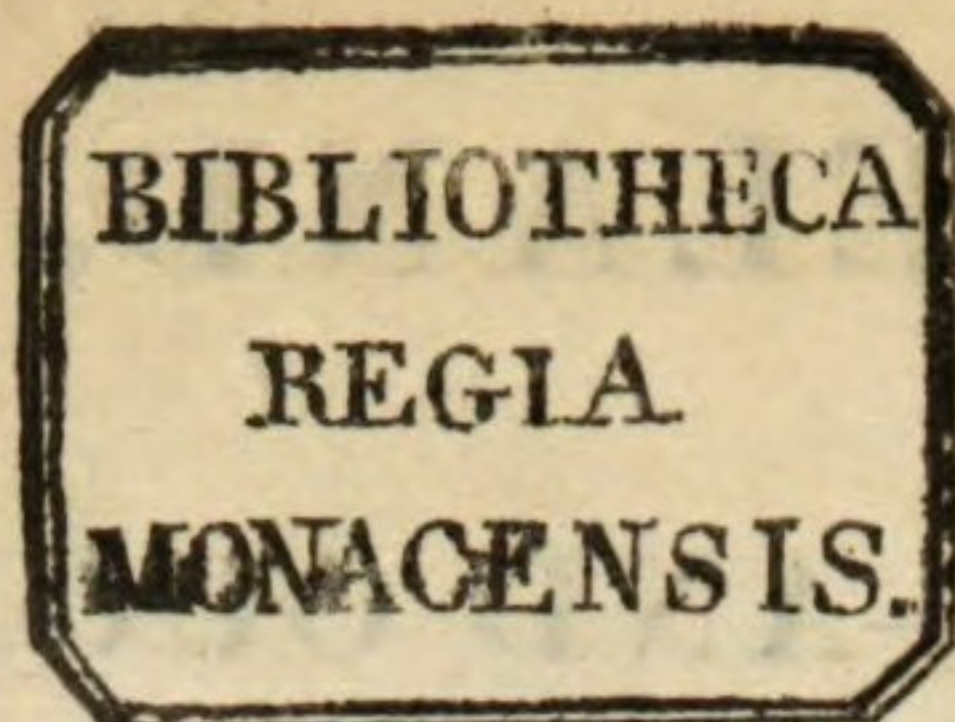
BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN,

*Author of "The Political, Financial, and Commercial Condition of the
Anglo-Eastern Empire in 1832," &c.*

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1833.

109.2



COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL CHART

POPULATION—VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE;
NUMBER OF HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS, PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC;
NUMBER OF RAILWAYS AND PASSENGERS;
NUMBER OF SHIPS AND TONNAGE;
NUMBER OF FACTORIES AND AMOUNT OF OUTPUT;
NUMBER OF THEATRES AND SEATING CAPACITY;
NUMBER OF HOTELS AND SEATING CAPACITY;
NUMBER OF CARRIAGES AND SEATING CAPACITY;
NUMBER OF CATTLE, HORSES, AND SHEEP;
NUMBER OF PLOUGHING, HARROWING, AND SOWING;
NUMBER OF WHEAT, BARLEY, AND OATS;
NUMBER OF RICE, SUGAR, AND COFFEY;
NUMBER OF TEA, CLOTH, AND SILK;
NUMBER OF IRON, STEEL, AND COTTON;
NUMBER OF WINE, BRANDY, AND WHISKY;
NUMBER OF FISH, BUTTER, AND CHEESE;
NUMBER OF FRUIT, VEGETABLES, AND HERBS;
NUMBER OF FLOWERS, TREES, AND SHRUBS;
NUMBER OF MINES AND MINERAL PRODUCE;
NUMBER OF MANUFACTURES AND ARTS;
NUMBER OF COMMERCE AND TRADING;
NUMBER OF EDUCATION AND LITERATURE;
NUMBER OF RELIGION AND MORALS;
NUMBER OF SCIENCE AND ARTS;
NUMBER OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY;
NUMBER OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHING;
NUMBER OF COMMERCE AND TRADING;
NUMBER OF EDUCATION AND LITERATURE;
NUMBER OF RELIGION AND MORALS;
NUMBER OF SCIENCE AND ARTS;
NUMBER OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY;
NUMBER OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHING;

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INTRODUCTION.

NATIONS have emerged from barbarism, prospered for ages, and then degenerated ;—imperial dynasties have been exalted and swept from the face of the earth ;—and empires which seemed founded on the rock of eternity, have left no vestige of former greatness,—no other record than the historic scroll !

Who can divine the causes of such wonderful transitions ? Who can discern the winged germs of political disease, which are scattered with such fearful velocity, and which, wherever they fall, produce a fatally abundant crop of the elements of national decay ? Do kingdoms, like individuals, receive at birth the seeds of dissolution, which evolve themselves not until physical and intellectual energy is on the wane ? Is dismemberment, conquest, and bondage, to be the never-failing price of refinement in the arts and luxuries of life ? Or must we ascribe to the incomprehensible Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the universe, who has given boundaries to space, finiteness to time, and who regulates with such unerring precision the orbit of the spheres,—must we attribute to that all-wise and ever-beneficent Being, the terrestrial limit and duration of human power and earthly grandeur ?

Whatever be the causes, proximate or remote, which contribute to the prosperity or decline of a nation, it must

be perceived that England has now arrived at a crisis of the utmost importance to her future wealth, liberty, and happiness.

Two centuries have scarcely elapsed, since a small island in the Atlantic put forth her claims to rank with the first civilized states, without any other pretensions than the bravery, skill, and unyielding patriotism of her sons. Vehemently opposed by the jealous, bigoted, and selfish passions of Portugal, Spain, and Holland, and subsequently by the formidable coalition between France and Northern Europe, she kept her adversaries at bay throughout revolving years, stripped them one by one of their transmarine dominions, and finally alone yet unawed—unaided except by her internal wealth, maritime commerce, and unshaken loyalty, she stood triumphant against a world in arms, and became the arbitress of millions ! The question now is, is she prepared to descend from the 'vantage ground, which it has cost her such an incalculable expenditure of blood and treasure to attain ? Has the deep blue sea been incarnadined with English gore in vain ? Have the most chivalric sons of Albion, of Scotia, and Erin, uselessly sacrificed heaven's dearest gift for the maintenance of rights, heretofore considered the pride and the strength of their country ? Or will the existing race of Britons, unmindful of the past or unreflective for the future, refuse to hand down to posterity, the oceanic heritage which they have obtained by the perilous achievements of their ancestors ? Those who coolly contemplate the breaking up of a maritime kingdom, which, like the spider's web, vibrates from the extreme point to the centre, must have formed an erroneous estimate of human nature, if they suppose a millenium to have arrived, when the instinctive passion of self-preservation, which compels men to form themselves into large

communities for mutual protection, has given place to the St. Simonian doctrine of a common enjoyment of wives, property, &c.

There never, indeed, was an era when the consolidation of the empire was more imperiously required than at the existing moment. Civil society is every where rocking to its centre, as if a mighty volcano were agitating mankind with its convulsive throes; and myriads are struggling to better their condition in life, and looking to political institutes and manufactures as the great promoters of moral happiness and pecuniary independence. But to this onward current of civilization there is a powerful opposition among those who fear that the tide gains too fast on the western shores before it has left dry its eastern bed,* and who foresee a contest between physical force and property, which would terminate in the desolation of the kingdom, the destruction of millions, and the demoralization of the survivors. Is this, then, a moment (independent of the unsettled and menacing aspect of Russia, and indeed of the whole Continent) for the friends of peace and of the rightful enjoyment of property to hesitate as to the course to be pursued when contemplating the dismemberment of the right-arm of Britain? Are the comparatively paltry considerations of place or pelf to be put in competition with the unspeakable miseries of civil war?

The conductors of the British Press are called upon to use the tremendous powers they possess, in averting from Ireland the horrors which await on a perseverance in her present course. The loyal and enthusiastic friends of British connection in that unfortunate but beautiful coun-

* The ocean, it is well known, is gaining on and receding from the opposite coasts of the Old and New World.

try, for which God has done so much and man so little, earnestly look to England's wisdom and energy for the adoption of measures which will enable them to pursue in tranquillity their industrious course of life, undisturbed by the machinations of political agitators and ambitious demagogues. If Ireland is to remain an integral portion of the British empire, let the oft-recurring threat of separation be silenced for ever; but if the painter between her and England is to be cut, because we are now at peace with France—why, let it be so at once; and the green fields of my native land will, alas! once more be fertilized with the slain, and her lovely rivers be empurpled with their gore. Any state of things is better than the disorganizing uncertainty which now exists—an uncertainty which damps the energy of the brave, paralyzes the efforts of the good, and chills the glowing patriotism which burns bright and strong in many Irish hearts, who desire to remain associated with England—to sit on her right-hand, as a sharer in her earthly glory—a participator in her unearthly religion.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to place calmly before the public the commercial and political state of Ireland, previous and subsequent to her legislative union with Britain; and to ascertain whether, on mercantile or on constitutional grounds, there is the slightest justification for repealing an incorporation, under the sanction of which the empire has been consolidated, and the possible excitement of national jealousy totally annihilated.

Ireland is as much a part of the British empire as Yorkshire is; but unless instant steps be taken to prove that it is so, by putting down the anarchical system now in force there, and introducing such remedial measures as

wisdom and policy may suggest, the consequences which will result from a vacillating or temporizing Government, it is impossible to contemplate without shuddering. I am aware that the position of the present Government, in its foreign and domestic affairs, is fraught with difficulty, which no sincere friend of England can witness without anxiety ; but placing my reliance on their integrity, their patriotism, and their generous devotion to the amelioration of the human race, I felt it to be the duty of every individual, however humble his station, to use his feeble exertions for their support, when all around seems dark and portending. For the part I am acting, I am well aware that I am sacrificing a temporary popularity to the dictates of my conscience ; I know that I shall be branded by Mr. O'Connell as an enemy of my country, a foe to freedom, and a pander to power ; but those are trifles light as air compared with the reflection, that any act of mine should assist to annihilate an empire, on whose temporal strength, I sincerely believe, depends in an especial degree, the lessening the number of the indigent, and augmenting that of the virtuous all over the world. While having the honour and gratification of serving under the meteor flag of Britain, and witnessing in every clime and on every shore the respect paid to the valour, humanity, and intelligence of her sons, I cannot, on consulting my *judgment* rather than my *feelings*, consent to barter away (as far as an individual voice is concerned), the certain prosperity of my country, for the dream of a separate, and but ephemeral independence.

In consigning, therefore, the following statistical and historical facts to the British public and press, I am convinced that by England treating Ireland with *justice* (the sole basis of generosity and humanity), and under the

permission of Divine Providence, the empire of Great Britain may exist until

“All flesh shall perish together,—

And man shall turn again unto dust.”

Job i.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL VIEW

OF

IRELAND.

1833.

Provinces.	Counties.	Extent.		Area in English square miles.	Number of Houses.		Population.		
		Length, north to south, in Irish miles.	Breadth, east to west, in Irish miles.		In 1821.	In 1832.	In 1821.	In 1832.	
LEINSTER.	Dublin.....	23	10	281	35,740	42,570	335,891	379,739	
	Wicklow.....	26	24	788	17,289	18,605	110,767	122,301	
	Wexford.....	38	24	868	29,159	30,011	170,806	182,991	
	Carlow.....	23	16	346	13,028	13,906	78,952	81,649	
	Kildare.....	32	21	599	16,478	17,432	99,065	111,141	
	Kilkenny.....	35	18	760	29,949	30,864	181,946	193,432	
	Longford.....	21	19	345	18,987	19,377	107,570	112,391	
	Louth.....	21	14	220	21,291	22,090	101,011	125,546	
	King's County.....	31	21	714	22,564	24,370	131,088	148,984	
	Queen's County.....	25	35	581	23,105	23,067	134,275	145,843	
	Westmeath.....	24	34	586	23,001	25,411	128,819	166,883	
	Eastmeath.....	27	57	829	27,942	28,665	159,183	190,309	
	Total of the Province				6,927	278,533	296,369	1,757,492	1,961,109
	ULSTER.	Antrim.....	44	24	760	46,661	58,778	262,860	372,938
Armagh.....		25	15	332	36,210	39,736	197,427	220,653	
Cavan.....		22	40	600	35,504	38,982	195,076	228,040	
Down.....		40	30	682	59,747	66,920	325,410	360,853	
Donegal.....		68	35	1,493	44,800	49,804	248,270	300,694	
Londonderry.....		32	30	630	34,691	39,980	193,869	222,416	
Tyrone.....		42	62	931	47,164	54,586	261,865	304,247	
Monaghan.....		30	20	463	32,378	37,381	174,697	195,532	
Fermanagh.....		20	42	530	34,586	35,856	130,997	147,555	
Total of the Province				6,421	371,739	412,023	1,998,494	2,353,928	
MUNSTER.	Cork.....	73	49	2,135	114,459	125,318	730,444	857,576	
	Kerry.....	53	43	1,659	35,598	43,095	216,185	263,280	
	Clare.....	32	50	1,141	35,373	40,541	208,089	263,262	
	Limerick.....	20	34	678	42,409	43,084	277,617	200,080	
	Tipperary.....	70	36	1,304	55,297	63,796	346,896	406,977	
	Waterford.....	21	36	480	23,860	24,704	156,521	172,519	
	Total of the Province				7,387	316,995	341,438	1,935,612	2,163,694
CONNAUGHT.	Galway.....	41	73	2,500	58,117	77,367	165,679	429,211	
	Leitrim.....	38	17	647	21,762	31,259	124,785	145,457	
	Mayo.....	42	52	2,001	53,051	56,801	293,112	367,961	
	Roscommon.....	50	28	877	37,399	41,788	208,729	246,601	
	Sligo.....	27	31	638	27,059	30,704	146,229	171,508	
	Total of the Province				6,667	197,388	237,919	1,110,229	1,360,738
	GRAND TOTAL..				27,402	1,164,655	1,287,749	6,801,827	7,839,469

Inhabitants per square mile.	Number of Schools in 1824.	Number of Scholars.		Religious Persuasion of Scholars in 1824.		Land in English acres.	Annual value of Landed Produce.	Annual Rental of each County to Proprietors.	Average Rent of Proprietors in Shillings sterling.	Average rent of Landowners in Shillings sterling.
		In 1821.	In 1824.	Protestants and Presbyterians.	Roman Catholics.					
1,351	724	23,425	32,540	10,298	20,391	188,160	£. 1,145,800	£. 343,740	60	—
155	258	8,705	11,817	3,891	7,999	388,696	1,170,000	382,000	15	30
211	380	11,854	19,368	2,959	16,351	401,413	2,523,168	236,547	15	30
236	166	7,059	8,461	1,400	7,010	211,440	1,038,000	130,080	15	40
186	214	6,391	8,864	1,344	7,392	381,818	1,265,000	209,400	16	34
254	384	14,511	20,206	1,473	18,674	469,174	1,705,554	18,424	2	16
325	180	7,421	9,444	1,559	7,775	239,618	938,800	67,350	10	30
566	169	4,169	7,207	1,241	5,944	205,962	1,204,000	58,000	12	32
208	254	8,132	10,391	2,116	8,036	456,960	896,000	137,500	11	28
251	275	6,823	11,914	2,294	9,543	476,181	816,000	240,000	13	30
291	216	7,326	10,097	1,595	8,350	370,053	1,040,000	57,000	7	31
299	272	7,629	10,722	1,253	9,326	488,758	3,186,480	597,465	none	30
284	3,482	113,445	161,031	31,423	126,801	4,278,233	16,928,802	2,477,506		
490	515	20,788	20,255	15,823	3,997	492,000	2,100,000	107,000	5	30
664	332	13,195	13,769	7,823	5,191	212,755	1,500,000	99,797	11	40
380	346	8,806	17,897	4,948	12,866	384,111	1,204,000	101,890	6	30
559	544	19,546	22,614	15,982	6,354	436,900	1,396,000	172,329	10	22
275	376	9,521	14,111	7,145	6,847	896,000	800,000	80,000	2	15
323	380	6,721	13,716	9,092	4,513	405,364	1,900,000	79,625	4	40
326	435	12,562	18,579	10,927	7,484	596,287	1,874,322	128,859	5	30
422	281	7,260	11,218	4,350	6,538	277,472	611,800	96,140	11	30
278	240	6,335	9,800	5,369	4,424	340,678	796,109	88,508	8	25
366	3,458	104,704	141,959	81,459	58,214	4,041,567	12,182,231	954,148		
401	1,288	50,345	69,416	9,834	59,203	1,701,585	3,010,880	365,658	5	20
159	354	13,638	20,369	1,055	19,179	1,068,480	859,520	107,395	2	20
230	315	11,953	20,352	698	19,600	730,227	2,640,000	143,525	5	15
295	461	14,406	30,904	2,041	28,580	479,581	1,884,070	306,142	16	40
312	657	20,768	34,599	2,852	31,321	834,909	2,100,000	527,075	16	60
359	284	8,107	15,453	1,509	13,871	395,690	855,018	72,261	6	20
293	3,359	119,217	191,093	17,989	171,754	5,210,472	11,349,488	1,422,056		
171	405	12,818	20,990	1,543	18,481	1,301,236	2,427,164	186,000	5	15
225	242	5,189	12,472	2,507	9,786	370,519	500,009	36,131	3	10
183	341	9,335	16,185	1,642	14,367	1,023,273	402,276	97,000	8	20
282	309	10,287	15,459	3,012	14,254	557,103	1,283,280	240,768	11	30
268	226	8,865	10,666	2,890	7,626	408,320	960,420	193,760	12	20
240	1,523	46,494	75,782	11,594	64,514	3,660,451	5,166,042	753,659		
286	11,922	383,830	569,865	142,465	421,283	17,190,726	45,626,563	5,607,369		

IRELAND,

AS IT WAS,—IS,—AND OUGHT TO BE.

CHAPTER. I.

COMMERCIAL STATE OF IRELAND BEFORE THE UNION;
SHEWING A DECREASING TRADE FROM 1782 to 1800.

THE powerful efforts now in progress for effecting what is speciously termed the legislative independence of Ireland, and her elevation from a province to a kingdom, demand the earnest attention of every man who values the integrity of the British Empire, the maintenance of peace, and the extension of civilization throughout Europe.

The leader of the project under consideration has declared, that he will effect his object, “in spite of the British public, whether the Saxons be pleased or displeased.”* For the better prosecution of the measure, a special society has been formed, which the Dictator thereof declares his determination of “organizing in every parish;”

* Mr. O’Connell’s words in the hearing of the writer, when proposing the formation of the Volunteers, 2d January 1833; the words were suppressed by Mr. O’Connell’s reporters for the press.

that “a period will shortly arrive when the members of this society (the Irish Volunteers) shall not be *unarmed* ;”—that *he* intends “the Volunteers shall take the place of the National Guard of other countries ;” and that “Ireland cannot obtain perfect liberty, until Parliament permit the Volunteers of 1833 to take the same place held by the Volunteers of 1782.”*

Without pausing here to comment on the illegality, and even treason (vide Irish Acts of Parliament, 10th Henry VII. chap. xiii.) of such conduct, and reserving also an exposition of the unconstitutional proceedings of the Volunteers of 1782 for a subsequent page, I proceed to lay before the public the true state of affairs respecting Ireland, before and after her legislative incorporation with Great Britain, the most outrageous mistatements being put forth as *arguments*, to prove the justice and policy of the demand, which requires a repeal of the Union. This is the more necessary, as the clamorous shouts of Passion have almost drowned the still voice of Reason; while Mr. O’Connell, in the blindness of his ambition, seems entirely to forget, that an appeal to national prejudices was never effectual for the redress of national grievances.

It is contended that Ireland made the most extraordinary strides, in arts, commerce, &c.

* Vide Mr. O’Connell’s speech, Dublin Freeman’s Journal, 8th January 1833.

during the period of what is termed her “glorious independence,” *viz.* from 1782 to 1800; that ever since her legislative union with England she has rapidly degenerated; and a corollary is thence derived, that she would again flourish were a Parliament re-established in Ireland. Three assertions are thus assumed to be proven: the first, being considered as indisputable, is merely referred to with extravagant panegyricism; the second is dwelt on as if misery existed in no other part of the globe but Ireland; and the third is a sort of *quod erat demonstrandum* problem, a politico-mathematical demonstration, that no man dare deny. Such is the reasoning of Mr. O’Connell; and the learned gentleman is too subtle a casuist to deny, that if his base be destroyed the superstructure must fall.

The assertion that *all* Ireland prospered so wonderfully from 1782 to 1800, rests on a very shallow foundation; for it is built on the belief, that Dublin improved during the period: in proof of which, her magnificent public buildings are pointed out as a convincing *fact*, not reflecting that the gaudy decoration of a capital is any thing but an indication of the general weal of a country; and as if it were undeniably true, that those very edifices and works originated during the Athenian age of “Irish independence,” or, as it ought more properly be termed, “Irish anarchy.” But how stands the reality? Why,

that those very buildings, referred to with so much exultation, and affording innumerable tropes for agitating eloquence, were erected *previous* to 1782, and subsequent to the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland !

The following extract from the “ Dublin Guide ”* will prove whether the first position assumed by Mr. O’Connell be deserving of reliance.

PUBLIC EDIFICES erected *previous* to 1782. Dublin.

Royal Exchange, 1769—Bank of Ireland, 1729—Trinity College, 1759—Stamp Office, 1771—Linen Hall, 1728—Hibernian Marine School, 1777—Newgate, 1773—Dublin Society, 1749—Grand Canal, 1765—Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, 1680—Foundling Hospital, 1764—House of Industry, 1773—Custom House, 1780—Crow Street Theatre, 1758—Dublin Castle, 1220—Blue Coat Hospital, 1773—Lying-in Hospital and Rotunda, 1751—Swift’s Lunatic Asylum, 1757—Stephen’s Green laid out, 1670—Dublin Castle, 1720—Record Tower, 1775—Simpson’s Blindman’s Hospital, 1778—Stephen’s Hospital, 1720—Magdalen Asylum, 1766—Mercer’s Hospital, 1734—George I. statue, 1720—William III. statue, 1701—Essex Bridge, 1755—Queen’s Bridge, 1768—Meath Hospital, 1774—Werburgh’s, Thomas’s, Bride’s, John’s, Nicholas’, Andrew’s, Catherine’s, and Mark’s, Churches, from 1670 to 1758.

PUBLIC EDIFICES erected *subsequent* to the Union.

Post-Office, 1815—Castle Chapel, 1807—Kingstown Harbour,† 1821—Iron Bridge, 1816—King’s Bridge, 1827—Female Penitentiary, 1820—Fever Hospital, 1804—House of Refuge, 1802—Corn Exchange, 1816—Richmond Bridge, 1816—King’s Inns, 1804—Metropolitan Chapel, 1823—Nelson’s Monument, 1808—Dublin Institution, 1811—Wellington Testimonial, 1817—Female Orphan

* To be had at David Gardiner’s, Westmoreland-street, Dublin.

† Cost half a million sterling.

House, 1818—York Street Chapel, 1808—Whitworth Bridge, 1818—Wellesley Market, 1827—Hibernian Academy, 1824—Royal Arcade, 1820—Dublin Penitentiary, 1815—Dublin Library, 1825.

The dates to the edifices here enumerated, and which form nearly all in Dublin,* shew how untenable the first postulate is, when tested by the light of chronology. A minute examination of official documents and public writers enables me to assert with confidence, that neither Dublin, nor Ireland in general, was indebted for improvement to the turbulent assembly, which sat from 1782 to 1800 ;—nay more, I am prepared to prove, that Ireland actually retrograded during that far-famed period, during the whole of which the island, from one extremity to the other, was kept in the most wretched turmoil, night and day, by furious communities, under the various designations of “ Patriots, Agitators, Right-Boys, Conventions, Aggregate Bodies, Peep-o’-Day Boys, Catholic Committees, Defenders, Associators, Assassins, Tarring-and-Feathering Committees,† Houghers of Men‡ and Houghers of Cattle, Whig

* The Four Courts were commenced subsequent to 1782, but the buildings were projected, &c. *previous* to that period.

† An individual who was obnoxious for his principles was marked for punishment by the standing Committees, seized, covered with hot tar while naked, and then plentifully sprinkled with feathers, large and small!

‡ An illustration of this society occurred by reason of a dispute between the citizens of Dublin and some soldiers at Island Bridge. The pride of the former was hurt, although they almost massacred the soldiers, whose further punishment they demanded. The troops

Clubs, St. James's Delegates, and Exchequer Street Delegates, National Congresses, Emancipators, United Irishmen, Reformers, Revolutionists, Societies of Peace, and Societies of War," *cum multis aliis!*

It is not therefore to be wondered at, that under such auspices the country actually retrograded. About the middle of the last century, all Europe, as if urged by some mysterious impulse, made rapid progress in knowledge and freedom; and where the latter (as in the case of France) did not degenerate into anarchy and despotism, an improvement in commerce necessarily ensued. Ireland participated in the general advantages of the times. Mr. Arthur Young,* whose remarks are cited by all men as profoundly accurate, says that "Ireland was improved more during the last twenty years, *i. e.* from 1755 to 1775, than in a century before:"—that the great spirit of improvement began in 1749 and 1750; that thirty years previous to the time of writing (1776) the export of linen and yarn was only in value about £500,000, but that it had risen in 1776 to the value of £1,500,000."

troops were drawn out, the offenders selected from the ranks, degraded, and punished. This, however, did not appease the citizens' wrath; the Houghers' Society was called into action; every straggling soldier met by night or by day had his hamstrings cut across; and Lord Carhampton was obliged to introduce a bill to the Irish Parliament "to prevent the citizens houghing the soldiers!"

* Tour through Ireland, 1776.

These, and other equally striking facts, were adduced by the Right Honourable Silvester Douglas, in his speech, 23d April 1799, and they were not attempted to be denied.

Of Dublin, even, it may be stated, that by a Government survey in 1753, the increase of citizens from 1711 to 1753 was stated at 32,000. Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the great increase began ; in that year no less than 1,200 houses were commenced building. After the peace of Paris, in 1763, the augmentation was still greater ; but during the whole of those periods, and until 1782, the Irish parliament assembled only once in two years, and even then but for a very short session. The prosperity of Ireland originated in England relaxing her navigation laws in favour of the sister country ; in throwing open the ports of her colonies, which she had acquired by an incalculable expenditure of her blood, treasure, and wisdom, to Ireland ; by giving to Irish linens a monopoly in the British market, to the exclusion of the Germans and others ; and by the enormous bounties which were paid on the exportation of corn, &c. And let it be remembered, that these were not concessions to fear :—they would have been made long before, had Ireland no separate legislature,—had the wise policy of Cromwell been pursued, which was, to have an identity of interests between England, Scotland,

and Ireland,—to have but one legislature and one system of laws.*

The effect of bounties was doubtless to augment production; and previous to the period held up as the commencement of Irish prosperity (1782), the amount expended for this purpose was very great. Newenham says that the bounty paid on corn exported from 1741 to 1750 amounted to £1,514,962,† an immense sum in those times. The bounties were for a time discontinued, and the average export of unmanufactured corn of all sorts, during the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, amounted to only 31,423 barrels. Mr. Foster, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, revived the system of bounties, and the export again rose in 1787, 1788, and 1789, to 517,383 barrels; and during the year ending March 1791, to 863,047 barrels.‡

By means of Mr. Foster's measure a momentary stimulus was given to the export of corn. In 1789 the bounty paid thereon was £59,206; in 1783 bounties were enacted for canvass and coarse linen; there was a bounty on the *inland* carriage of corn to Dublin, amounting in 1780 to £77,800; there was another bounty on corn brought coast-

* Cromwell united the legislatures; he issued no writs for the Irish Parliament, and he assembled a Commonwealth legislature, to which Ireland then sent forty members as representatives.

† Newenham, page 54.

‡ Ibid., page 50.

ways to Dublin, which in 1789 amounted to £20,000 ; then there were bounties on Irish coals brought to Dublin, on sugar refined, on indigo imported, on silk, on fish, on flax, &c. In fact, the whole nation was taxed for the benefit of the city of Dublin ; add to which, several enormous frauds were proved to have been made use of in obtaining “ corn premiums,” and the standing Committee of the House of Commons for the distribution of bounties were, from their immaculate patriotism, complimented with the epithet of the “ *Scrambling Committee!*”

The Irish expenditure was annually augmented,* and public and private corruption became the order of the day.

It was scarcely to be expected, that a system built up artificially and supported by injustice, should have been productive of general and permanent advantage, and accordingly we find that, even during the period so much lauded, and notwithstanding the factitious aid of bounties, the trade of Ireland, so far from progressing, actually declined. In illustration of this I first give the—

* Irish expenditure :—

1791	£1,490,624	1796	£3,455,671
1792	1,448,734	1797	3,689,484
1793	1,592,767	1798	5,476,637
1794	2,028,055	1799	7,086,635
1795	2,635,302	1800	7,023,166
Total.....		Total	
£9,195,482		£26,731,593	

TONNAGE belonging to IRISH PORTS at two periods of five years each, previous to the Union.

Years	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Decrease.
1788	60,776	1793	67,790	—
1789	64,361	1794	63,162	1,199
1790	68,236	1795	58,778	9,458
1791	69,233	1796	56,575	12,658
1792	69,567	1797	53,181	16,386
Total	332,183	Total	299,486	39,701

Here we see a decrease progressively accelerating, and amounting on three years to upwards of *thirty-eight thousand tons*! The editor of the "*Dublin Morning Register*"* cannot avail himself of the cavil, that the tonnage entering a port is no criterion of trade, because they may only be "carrying coals" (as if coals were no article of trade, and were procurable for nothing). The table exhibits the tonnage belonging to Irish merchants, and it evinces a strong proof of declining mercantile prosperity. I have also another table, of ten years previous to the Union, which has just been presented to my notice, which is fuller and more convincing than the foregoing; its totals are as follows:—

* The perverted statements of Mr. Staunton, and the just views of Sir Henry Parnell on this subject, have been ably and incontrovertibly exposed by a writer signed "Merchant," in the *Dublin Evening Post* of the present year (January), but the Editor of the *Morning Register* (Mr. Staunton) took good care not to republish "a Merchant's" refutation: this, I suppose, is Irish "Liberalism."

REGISTERED TONNAGE belonging to Ireland at two periods of five years each.

Period.	Number of Ships.	Tonnage.
From 1790 to 1794	5,860	339,988
From 1795 to 1799	5,249	267,748
Decrease	611	72,240

The decrease of the two last years on the two first years stands thus—

	Ships.	Tons.
1790-91	2,310	137,469
1798-99	2,024	99,214
Decrease in two years..	<u>286</u>	<u>38,255</u>

These statements are yet further corroborated by examining the number and tonnage of vessels built in Ireland during this period.

Number of VESSELS, and TONNAGE thereof, built in Ireland for ten years preceding the Union, at two periods of five years each.

1st Period.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage.	2d Period.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage.	Decrease on Corresponding Years.	
						No. of Ships	Tonnage.
1790	50	2,334	1795	33	1,654	17	680
1791	51	2,464	1796	32	1,802	19	662
1792	42	1,629	1797	19	797	23	832
1793	35	1,659	1798	20	1,072	15	587
1794	32	1,441	1799	18	1,105	14	346

The totals of the periods are—

1st.....	Ships 210	Tons 9,527
2d	122	<u>6,430</u>
Decrease	<u>Ships 88</u>	<u>Tons 3,097</u>

This diminution is the more striking, from the fact (as will be shewn in the subsequent chapter) that the number of vessels built in Ireland since the Union, and the tonnage thereof, has *increased* and is still progressing

We may now proceed to examine the state of the exports from Ireland during the period under consideration. And here let me observe, that my tabular statements are drawn from the accurate statistics of M. Cæsar Moreau, where the Parliamentary Papers, from which his statistics are derived, are fully acknowledged. I quote from the copy in the Dublin Library, and which Mr. O'Connell and the Editors of the Irish Press ought to have examined previous to making their unfounded allegations.

TOTAL OFFICIAL VALUE of the EXPORTS of the Growth, Produce, and Manufactures of Ireland, at two periods of five years each, previous to the Union.

1st Period.	Value.	2d Period.	Value.
1790	£4,826,360	1795	£4,704,732
1791	4,863,426	1796	5,013,283
1792	5,321,290	1797	4,533,692
1793	4,995,406	1798	4,316,592
1794	4,639,301	1799	4,445,339
Total	£24,645,783	Total	£23,013,638
1st Period		£ 24,645,783	
2d ditto		23,013,638	
Decrease		£ 1,632,145	

A million and a-half sterling decrease on a period of only five years, is a strange indication of growing prosperity!

It may be objected to the foregoing table, that it is one of "official value." Those who are inclined to do so should first recollect, that while *official* values are now decreasing as compared with *real* or *declared* value, they were then increasing: so that the diminution on the latter period was actually greater than is shewn by the figures. To remove cavil, however, on the point, let attention be directed to the following table, in which *quantities*, instead of *values*, are expressed, and then let any man say that the assertion of Mr. O'Connell is correct, namely, that Ireland rapidly increased in prosperity during the few years that elapsed from 1782 to 1800, when, as the learned gentleman has the barefacedness to assert, "*England produced the Union because she was becoming jealous of the increasing prosperity of Ireland, because she could not tolerate the rapidly advancing prosperity of Ireland.*"*

"Our country produces sufficient for the support of sixteen millions, and shall we then submit to be a province when we ought to be a nation (loud and vehement cheering). When I am asked by some well-intentioned persons to wait a while and try what a reformed Parliament will do, I answer that I repose no faith in good intentions. There is a Spanish proverb which says that the roughest part of hell is that which is paved with good intentions. Let any man look back to the few years that succeeded '82, and see how rapidly Ireland increased in prosperity. At the rate at which she advanced, America would not be better able to produce abundance of every thing that would make life comfortable."—*Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 4, 1833.

* Mr. O'Connell's Speech, January 2, 1833.

EXPORTS (in Quantity) from IRELAND, at Two Periods of Seven Years each, previous to the Union, shewing a Decrease in the latter Period.

Years.	Grain, &c.			Tongues.	Wool.	Rape.	Kelp.	Tallow.	Calf Skins.	Linen Yarn.	Worsted Yarn.	Cows and Oxen.	Herrings.	Drapery.	Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise re-exported.
	Wheat.	Barley.	Meal.												
1785....	barrels. 36,956	barrels. 3,170	cwts. 95,878	doz. 3,806	stones. 2,856	qrs. 236	tons. 1,774	cwt. 21,420	doz. 28,954	cwts. 28,842	stones. 94,729	No. 22,241	barrels. 35,514	yards. 770,031	£. 42,502
1786....	86,682	95,868	132,079	4,342	1,564	1,216	1,213	18,284	19,756	31,062	74,931	19,315	17,188	349,608	54,174
1787....	62,118	163,895	145,488	4,439	1,066	12,082	1,474	22,898	23,606	31,049	54,862	16,175	11,336	206,849	62,314
1788....	50,157	54,045	129,288	3,430	631	11,785	3,131	13,281	17,616	25,275	7,109	17,199	16,855	313,111	45,346
1789....	218,737	33,849	109,868	3,526	774	12,200	2,401	13,128	23,005	28,742	26,316	16,501	11,177	363,196	41,663
1790....	148,066	53,521	65,570	3,571	1,776	9,473	2,203	16,717	22,226	31,572	39,973	24,170	7,980	352,022	28,939
1791....	153,769	39,719	133,381	3,360	2,396	843	1,915	18,624	17,616	26,999	38,064	30,132	1,321	320,491	79,174
Total..	766,485	454,167	811,352	26,504	11,063	47,825	14,051	124,289	152,779	206,541	335,984	156,113	105,371	2,675,308	354,112
1792....	119,781	28,352	131,801	3,841	2,220	144	2,739	16,221	23,005	17,190	53,644	24,351	4,072	384,396	66,470
1793....	92,788	974	96,522	3,321	2,713	3,496	1,735	9,522	22,226	16,644	59,628	21,820	364	140,294	52,186
1794....	36,701	38,601	24,472	3,426	274	1,032	1,160	6,944	17,750	19,056	19,317	5,684	1,390	206,547	25,861
1795....	31,231	7,381	36,578	4,327	162	234	619	14,352	16,979	22,730	25,833	5,160	2,170	105,283	46,601
1796....	—	4	37,503	3,605	171	7,641	1,197	12,651	22,841	20,600	25,220	10,524	1,261	174,036	51,049
1797....	15	—	112,461	2,437	88	5,360	3,561	11,854	16,653	12,865	15,062	36,311	3,793	149,760	37,072
1798....	67,526	48,369	79,535	4,312	89	4,488	743	12,725	12,626	20,330	12,192	30,673	5,555	94,420	52,141
Total..	348,042	123,681	517,807	25,269	5,717	22,359	11,754	84,269	132,080	129,415	210,896	134,523	18,605	1,254,736	331,380
Decrease	418,443	330,486	233,545	1,235	5,346	24,466	2,297	40,020	20,699	87,126	115,088	11,640	86,626	1,320,572	13,732

Some of those persons who are determined to be convinced on no point, will exclaim, "Oh! the Irish, instead of exporting their provisions, kept them at home:" but a little investigation will shew them a decrease on wool, drapery (to the extent 1,321,572 yards), worsted yarn, linen yarn, skins, tallow, kelp, rape-seed, foreign and colonial merchandize, &c., as well as on articles of food.

Neither do we find the consumption of articles of luxury or comfort, which indicate the growing prosperity of a people, on the increase during the period. Sugar, which was becoming cheaper, and directly imported from the West-Indies in exchange for provisions, was thus entered for home consumption at two periods of three years each :

1789-1790-1791	cwts. 617,893
1792-1793-1794	567,215
Decrease	<u>cwts. 50,678</u>

The *wine* returned for home consumption was :

1789-1790-1791	gallons 4,195,454
1796-1797-1798	3,069,606
Decrease	<u>gallons 1,125,848</u>

The consumption of wine on two years was :

In 1795	gallons 2,959,044
In 1797	312,212
Decrease	<u>gallons 2,646,832</u>

The *tobacco* entered for home consumption in Ireland was, in

1794	lbs. 9,426,211	1798	lbs. 4,894,121
1795	7,874,409	1799	5,876,172
Total lbs. 17,300,620		Total lbs. 10,770,293	

A decrease of seven million pounds !

The number of barrels of *malt* consumed in Ireland at two periods of five years each, was :

1st Period.	Bls. of Malt.	2d Period.	Bls. of Malt.
1791	1,174,301	1796	1,197,033
1792	1,216,970	1797	1,263,147
1793	1,191,854	1798	1,190,875
1794	1,284,378	1799	1,124,827
1795	1,242,097	1800	843,900
Total 6,109,600		Total 5,620,782	

A decrease of half a million barrels in five years.

The decrease of malt in the last year of the table, was not owing to an increased consumption of spirits ; for I find, on referring to my notebook, that the corn-spirit distilled in Ireland was,

In 1798	gallons 4,783,954
In 1799	4,253,187
In 1800	3,621,498

It would, I fear, be tedious to proceed with statements so incontrovertible. A sufficient number have been adduced to refute the assertion, that Ireland progressed so much in commerce at the close of the last century. Notwithstanding all the factitious aid of bounties most lavishly supplied, and although a vast number of English troops were

sent to Ireland during the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, the introduction of which has always been considered by the Irish as an advantage to the trade of the country, yet did commercial prosperity decline. It is not difficult to assign a cause for this event, when we reflect on the turbulence and rebellion into which the agitators of the period deluded the people; and which, although confined to one province (Leinster), had a serious effect on the mercantile condition of Ireland. But this is a subject which will be developed in another chapter; I therefore proceed to enquire, whether the allegation of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland having caused the ruin of the latter island, is as little in unison with truth, as the subject now fully explained.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROSPEROUS COMMERCIAL STATE OF IRELAND SINCE THE UNION DEMONSTRATED; AND THE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE SHEWN.

THE Union has so loudly been termed the “ desolating-withering Union” by a few Dublin orators, that the people of England are beginning to think, that where there is much noise there must necessarily be some truth. Never, however, was there a more barefaced statement palmed on the public, than that Ireland has been injured by her union with England. The buildings and public works undertaken since the union, even in Dublin (as detailed in the preceding Chapter), shew that Government has not even been neglectful of the Irish capital; but the principal points for consideration are, the amount and quantity of imports and exports, and the consumption of exciseable articles by the people. Previous to the Union, every effort was made by the Irish Parliament to aggrandize Dublin, at the expense of Belfast, Cork, Waterford, &c. This was so apparent, that the merchants at the outports were among the first to petition the Irish Parliament and His Majesty for a legislative junction. Dublin had a monopoly of Ireland, as much as Paris had at one

time of France, or London of England previous to the rise of Liverpool, &c.* The Union altered this unnatural state of things, and which might be aptly compared to an enlarged viscus, the liver for instance, while the whole frame was weak, and dependent for existence on the repeated administration of stimulants.

I commence my examination of the two periods

* The trade of the port of London is fast decreasing, and will continue to do so, while that of the outports augments; in the same manner as Dublin commerce has been divided with Belfast (the Liverpool of Ireland), Galway, Sligo, Londonderry, Newry, &c.† A writer in the *Times*, 29th January, confirms what I stated in a work on the "Past and Present State of the Tea Trade of England, Europe, and America," (page 138) as to the trade of London rapidly diminishing, and which is thus proved by the following comparison between 1831 and 1832:

SHIPS with CARGOES from FOREIGN PORTS ENTERED INWARDS
to the PORT of LONDON.

	Ships.	Tons.
1831	5,610	1,041,642
1832	4,018	776,420
Decrease	1,592	265,222

COASTERS ditto.

1831	19,470	2,490,561
1832	12,268	1,089,205
Decrease ..	7,202	1,401,257
Total Decrease	8,794	1,666,478

The British and Foreign ships not employed coasting thus decreased in 1832:

British	919	150,258
Foreign	673	114,994

The decrease in the British being about 19 per cent., and in the foreign about 43 per cent.

* *Vide Appendix.*

(prior and subsequent to the Union) with the amount of tonnage *belonging* to the several ports of Ireland, at the end of the last century and at the latest period, in Moreau's tables; and let it be remembered, that by the invention and increase of steam navigation (the greater part of which is owned by English and Scotch ports), *one* steaming vessel performs the duty of nearly *ten* sailing ones, and consequently the amount of tonnage belonging to Irish ports would, were it not for a vast increase of commerce, be materially diminished.

TONNAGE belonging to the several Irish Ports, at two periods of three years each, prior and subsequent to the Union.

Name of Port.	Years 1797-1798-1799.	Years 1824-1825-1826.	Increase.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Belfast	13,062	48,511	35,449
Londonderry	2,856	8,628	5,772
Cork	13,424	17,101	3,677
Dublin	33,485	54,824	20,339
Drogheda	2,996	7,354	4,358
Donaghadee	2,234	5,158	2,914
Baltimore	3,965	7,250	3,375
Kinsale	4,853	9,442	4,589
Wexford	6,884	15,280	8,396
Limerick	3,390	4,316	926
Larne	2,877	4,467	1,590
Kilrush	none.	974	974
Newry	12,492	27,402	14,910
Sligo	346	1,451	1,105
Tralee	540	1,346	806
Waterford	8,929	12,362	3,433
Total Irish Tonnage registered during those periods	152,994	244,644	91,650
Total Tonnage from Great Britain to Ireland	1,514,261	2,013,178	499,917

The foregoing table is a most important one, in refutation of Mr. O'Connell's assertion, that the Union has been a curse to Ireland. Here we find that even the tonnage *belonging* to the port of Dublin has increased by *twenty-one thousand tons* on a period of three years; that Belfast has augmented its shipping property by 35,000 tons; and that almost every other outport has more than *doubled* its tonnage, *viz.* Limerick, Newry, Wexford, Londonderry, Drogheda, Kinsale, Baltimore, Donaghadee, Larne, Kilrush, Sligo, and Tralee; in fact, on every point of the Irish coast! It is almost as difficult to conceive how men, with a shadow of public character, could be found, who would utter the assertions attributed to them, as that a nation should be so imbecile as never to investigate the truth for themselves. Had I the means of comparing the years 1830, 1831, and 1832, the increase would be found yet greater. Let me be permitted to corroborate this statement as I did the corresponding one in the preceding chapter, by referring to the number and tonnage of vessels built in Ireland prior and subsequent to the Union, although the latter is subject to the deteriorating effect of steam navigation.

Number of SHIPS and Amount of TONNAGE, of Vessels built in Ireland, at two Periods of Ten Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union.

	No. of Ships.	Tons.
From 1790 to 1799	332	15,957
From 1821 to 1830	415	20,733
Increase on latter period	<u>83</u>	<u>4,776</u>

The latter ten years are derived from the *Westminster Review* for July 1831, and a reference to it will shew that the number of ships built in Ireland increased more in proportion than in England or Scotland; while in 1817 and 1818, before steam cut up the sailing vessels, there were built in Ireland 151 ships, the tonnage of which was 5,612; and in 1796-97 there were but 41 ships, the tonnage of which was only 2,579 tons, being an increase of 110 ships and 3,033 tons on a comparative period of two years before and since the Union.

The improvement in the trade of Ireland, and even of Dublin, will be more fully seen by the following table, which exhibits an increase on eight years of 2,511,305 tons, the increase of Dublin being nearly half a million tons, and that of the outports upwards of two million tons!*

* The genius of the Irish people is decidedly more warlike than commercial while they remain in their own country; and from the long state of feudalism in which they have existed, commerce has not yet been considered with the attention it deserves. The same was the case with France, until the revolution of 1830, for a few years previous to which France made great strides in mercantile prosperity. The disposition of the French is becoming more individually selfish, as that of commercial people always is; and the accumulation of wealth by trade is now more sought after. The same process is taking place in Ireland (vide Appendix); but in Dublin, and particularly in the large towns, a tradesman, if he be at all connected with a shop, is looked down on with the greatest contempt by the gentry, who, like the Suwars of India, pique themselves solely on their purity of blood, and would rather see their children perish than that they should attempt to earn a livelihood by trade. Such beggarly and dishonourable pride is subsiding gradually, and if in a period of ten or fifteen years internal tranquillity were secured, or even guaranteed, Ireland would make extraordinary rapid strides in maritime commerce and national prosperity.

TONNAGE entered Inward into Ireland, at two Periods, prior and subsequent to the Union:
(Dublin and the Outports.)

Years.	Dublin.	Outports.	Total.	Years.	Dublin.	Outports.	Tot l.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1791	288,592	409,878	698,470	1814	304,813	599,864	904,677
1792	269,762	408,758	678,520	1815	349,000	593,864	942,864
1793	268,046	374,788	643,434	1816	318,142	584,344	902,486
1794	255,780	374,726	630,506	1817	344,160	609,852	954,012
1795	255,979	378,295	634,274	1818	304,420	603,362	907,782
1796	289,979	458,450	748,429	1819	336,149	687,771	1,023,910
1797	217,710	368,700	586,410	1820	302,341	624,260	926,607
1798	243,160	349,365	592,525	1821	322,682	838,853	1,161,535
TOTAL	2,089,008	3,122,960	5,212,568	TOTAL	2,581,707	5,142,170	7,723,873
Total of last Period			Tons	Dublin.	Outports.	Total.	
Do: of first do.			do.	2,581,707	5,142,170	7,723,873	
				2,089,008	3,122,960	5,212,568	
Increase on latter Period			do.	492,695	2,019,210	2,511,305	

Lest it should be said, the amount of tonnage built belonging to or entering a port, is a fallacious criterion of progressive advance in commerce, I turn to the state of trade, which in value thus stands before and after the Union.

TRADE OF IRELAND.

Periods of Ten Years each.	Value Off Imports.	Off Value Exports.
	£ .	£.
1790 to 1801	49,396,254	51,322,620
1802 to 1813	74,511,058	63,483,718
Increase on latter period	£25,114,804	£12,161,098

Thus we find an increase of trade on ten years to the value of upwards of *thirty-seven million* sterling!

But that no loop-hole may remain by which the upholders of agitation may still endeavour to impress the public mind with a belief, that Ireland has a right to demand a repeal of her Union with England, on account of the loss which she has suffered in her commerce, I give the following highly important table of *quantities*, which I have carefully compiled from the celebrated Frenchman's Statistics before referred to, and who had no political object in view in their preparation.*

* Since writing this chapter, and indeed since the whole work was in the press, I have met with a copy of the "Commons Report on the State of the Irish poor, 1830;" a part of which I have added in an *Appendix*, and the attention of the reader is requested to it.

TABLE I.

QUANTITY of ARTICLES IMPORTED into Ireland, at two Periods of Twenty Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union, from all parts of the world.

Articles.	From 1781 to 1800.	From 1802 to 1821.	Increase.
Drapery yds.	23,833,381	49,692,058	25,858,677
Sugar, raw cwt.	3,796,285	6,089,175	2,292,890
Do. refined . . . do.	149,513	490,315	340,802
Tea lbs.	22,711,224	66,847,251	44,136,027
Coals tons.	6,413,557	10,897,970	4,484,413
Iron cwt.	3,917,882	5,530,682	1,612,800
Flax Seed hhd.	837,746	934,049	96,303
Cotton Wool . . . cwt.	199,751	538,542	338,791
Tobacco lbs.	99,402,762	116,112,836	16,710,074
Cotton Yarn . . . lbs.	4,551,336	19,995,350	15,444,014
Timber tons.	298,981	490,245	191,264
Hats No.	152,366	1,387,209	1,234,843
Hides undressed, No.	84,287	450,031	365,744
Hops cwt.	295,234	400,701	105,467
Hosiery Pcs.	3,606,074	7,995,640	4,389,566
Oak-bark bls.	2,224,655	2,550,853	326,198
Barilla cwt.	2,122,932	2,182,060	59,128

TABLE II.

QUANTITY of ARTICLES EXPORTED from Ireland, at two Periods of Twenty Years each, prior and subsequent to the Union, to all parts of the world.

Articles.	From 1781. to 1800.	From 1802 to 1821.	Increase.
Linens yds.	678,798,721	832,403,860	153,605,139
Butter lbs.	5,777,566	7,915,949	2,138,383
Pork bls.	2,164,608	2,565,403	400,795
Wheat do.	1,334,567	4,223,782	2,889,215
Meal & Flour cwt.	747,674	1,686,948	939,274
Barley bls.	1,027,323	1,842,993	815,670
Candles cwt.	117,276	205,958	88,682
Hogs No.	70,272	687,569	617,297
Oats bls.	7,650,359	16,112,142	8,461,783
Bacon Flitches, No.	1,013,552	6,248,527	5,243,975
Horned Cattle No.	302,287	747,815	445,528
Spirits galls.	79,892	10,349,752	10,269,860
Lard cwt.	80,974	313,867	232,893
Soap cwt.	92,616	219,506	126,890
Copper Ore . . . tons.	9,923	30,243	20,320
Feathers cwt.	28,167	106,307	78,140
Kelp tons.	31,224	64,731	33,507

The foregoing irrefutable document denotes two important things; namely, the rapidly increasing commerce of the country *subsequent* to the Union; and also the improving comforts of the people, as shewn in the increase of tea,* sugar, hops, tobacco, coals, drapery, &c. while the increased exportation of linens (notwithstanding the vastly extended consumption of cottons), to the amount of upwards of *one hundred and forty-three million* yards, gives a flat contradiction to those who assert the linen trade was destroyed by the Union.

Coffee is not given in the preceding table, but its increased consumption is as remarkable as that of tea. *Blackwood's Magazine* for January 1833, which has reached me as this page was going to press, gives, among other proofs of Irish prosperity, the following table:

COFFEE consumed in Ireland, at two Periods before and after the Union.

1792	lbs. 40,000	1822	lbs. 265,000
1793	52,000	1823	245,000
1794	100,000	1824	269,000
1795	91,000	1825	316,000
1796	61,000	1826	475,000
1797	132,000	1827	585,000
Total	lbs. 476,000	Total	lbs. 2,155,000
Last period		lbs. 2,155,000	
First ditto		476,000	
Increase		lbs. 1,679,000	

* The duties on all these articles have been increased since the Union; that on tea, for instance, being in 1800 from $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ for black tea to $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ for green, while in 1823 it was 93 and 100 per cent., averaging about 2s. per lb.

I find in my note-book another comparison of exciseable and other articles imported into Ireland at two distant periods, which I cannot omit, in justice to the cause of truth.

IMPORTS into Ireland, at two distant intervals.

Articles.	In 1787.	In 1823.	Increase.
Sugar, Muscovado cwt.	150,075	303,861	153,786
Ditto refined .....do.	7,067	39,771	32,704
Tea lbs.	1,916,240	3,816,966	1,900,726
Coals .....tons.	274,477	766,438	491,961
Timber do.	17,233	49,735	32,502
Wool-Cotton cwts.	8,977	34,162	25,185
Iron unwrought do.	181,943	277,775	95,832

It may be said that Ireland has deteriorated since the period given in the preceding statements, *viz.* from 1800 to 1820. This, even were it actually the case, would be no proof of the evil effects of the Union; but it will be seen that, notwithstanding the strife and party feeling to which the land of *Ire* has been subjected by her misnamed patriots, and although prices have been falling in every part of the civilized globe, yet has not the sister country diminished her imports, exports, or exciseable articles, the latter even being burthened since 1800 with heavy taxation.*

The <i>annual</i> average amount of <i>Exports</i> from Ireland, on the triennial period ending March 1790, was		£4,125,383
Ditto ditto ending Jan. 1826		8,454,918
Increase		£4,329,535

* *Vide* Appendix.

The <i>annual</i> average amount of <i>Imports</i> into Ireland, for the triennial period ending March 1790, was		£3,535,588
Ditto	ditto ending Jan. 1826	7,491,890
Increase		£3,956,302

Thus we find an augmentation of Irish commerce on one year, as compared with a year of the far-famed period of prosperity, to the extent of upwards of *nine million* sterling! This is decay with a vengeance.

A Dublin journal has just caught my eye (*Stewart's Telegraphic Despatch*, January 17th, 1833): it contains the following corroboration of my statements; namely, that in the year 1782, the total amount of the value and duty of the imports into all England from Ireland, ending at Christmas in that year, was, in—

Value	£1,348,558
Duty	7,043
£1,355,601	

As certified at the Custom-house in London Feb. 25, 1785, signed
“ J. Tomkyns, Assistant Inspector General.”

This sum is actually less than the value of the exports from Ireland to one port in England alone at the present period, as thus shewn from the same authority:—

CATTLE imported from IRELAND into LIVERPOOL, from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1832.

68,728 cows	at £16 0	£1,099,648 0
73,622 sheep	1 16	132,519 10
145,917 pigs	2 0	291,834 0
669 horses	25 0	16,725 0
33 mules	8 0	264 0
1,755 calves	3 0	5,265 0
12,854 lambs	1 0	12,854 0
		£1,559,109 10

Unfortunately for my evidence, I am unable to shew the value of the Irish commerce up to the existing period, the trade of Ireland since 1826 being placed on the footing of a coasting trade; but it is an indubitable fact,* that the increase has been progressing up to the present day. I cannot detail more than a few articles up to 1830.

QUANTITIES of Articles retained for HOME CONSUMPTION in Ireland, on an Annual Average of Triennial Periods, for 1790 and 1830.

Articles.	One Year ending March, 1790. Average of 3 Years.	One Year ending January, 1830. Average of 3 Years.	Increase.
Tea	1,732,374	3,887,955	2,155,581
Coffee	44,370	579,260	534,890
Raw Sugar	199,255	321,109	121,854
Cotton Wool	1,351,680	2,478,965	1,127,285
Timber	20,138	66,588	46,450
Coals	338,934	796,773	457,839

The consumption of woollen and worsted yarn was :—

* *Vide* Appendix.

In 1790	lbs.	2,294
1826		<u>632,750</u>
Increase	lbs.	<u>630,456</u>

Cotton-yarn was, in the same period, as follows :—

In 1790	lbs.	68,717
1826		<u>2,510,303</u>
Increase	lbs.	<u>2,441,586</u>

Iron unwrought, was :—

In 1790	tons	9,971
1826		<u>18,838</u>
Increase	tons	<u>8,867</u>

The *total* quantity of raw and refined sugar consumed in 1790 was :—

In 1790	cwts.	216,106
1826		<u>406,789</u>
Increase	cwts.	<u>190,683</u>

Some persons, unable to deny the truth of these statements, will probably exclaim, “Oh ! we admit all this ; but then Ireland should have progressed more rapidly—she should have kept pace with England.”* But, in reply to this, an examination of the parliamentary documents before me, proves that Ireland has absolutely progressed more rapidly

* This, I find, is Mr. Staunton’s argument before the National Council, during the present year. The following table shews sufficiently whether Mr. Staunton is correct as to English prosperity.

than England. It would be tedious to give lengthened tables on the subject; I shall merely state the consumption per head of several excisable articles, at four periods, in Great Britain; only remarking, that the quantity of sugar retained for home consumption in England was more in 1799 than in any year from 1812 to 1822.

POPULATION and Average CONSUMPTION per Head of several Articles in Great Britain at four Periods.

Period of Census.	Population.	Sugar:		Wine.	Tobacco.		Brandy and Geneva.	Rum.	Tea,	
		lbs.	oz.	Pints. oz.	oz.	dr.	Pints. oz.	Pints. oz.	lbs.	oz.
1801	10,942,646	28	4	4 6	16	12	1 9	1 15	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1811	12,609,864	28	10	3 10	16	3	0 13	2 4	1	9
1821	14,391,631	20	13	3 12	13	9	0 9	1 8	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1831	16,537,398	21	2	3 4	14	8	0 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 1	1	10
Decrease on two latter over two former periods		14	15	2 0	4	14	1 4	0 10	—	

Here we see the lamentable effects of onerous taxation in Great Britain, to a greater extent than in Ireland. Unfortunately, in the latter country, ardent spirits have too long supplied the place of tea, coffee, cocoa, &c. The evil is now in the course of removal, and a confident hope is entertained that the augmented importation of those articles will continue (as they are now evidently doing) to diminish the consumption of a pernicious fluid, which demoralizes while it destroys its unhappy victims.

But to return to the trade of Ireland. It is but natural to expect that, as the importation of exciseable articles into Ireland has increased, the exportation of Irish produce to pay for them must also have been augmented. This I have before shewn, down to 1820. A return prepared at the Custom-house, 15th January 1831, enables me to give a later period than the former tables contain.

QUANTITIES of Articles of IRISH PRODUCE EXPORTED from Ireland
annually, for 1790 and 1826.

Articles.	One Year ending March, 1790, Average of 3 Years.	One Year ending Jan. 1826, Average of 3 Years.	Increase.
Linen Manufactures .. yds.	34,191,754	51,947,413	17,755,659
Cotton ditto yds.	none	7,793,873	7,793,873
Do. otherwise entered lb.	8,261	23,412	15,151
Spirits (Whiskey) .. Imp. gal.	164	705,109*	704,945
Oxen No.	19,457	57,427	37,970
Sheep No.	none	62,929	62,929
Swine No.	5,685	73,913	68,228
Bacon and Hams cwt.	20,986	339,914	318,928
Butter do.	319,049	492,863	173,814
Wheat and Wheat Flour qrs.	112,256	525,640*	413,384
Oats and Oatmeal do.	312,993	1,701,134*	1,388,141

The increased export of linens, as indicated by the foregoing table, would have been much greater, but for the rapidly augmenting production and exportation of Irish cottons, the progressive state of which will be seen by a table, which M. Moreau gives thus :

* These Returns are given down to 1830.

IRISH MANUFACTURE and MANUFACTURERS of COTTON.

Periods of Three Years each.	lbs. of Cotton Yarn imported.	No. of Persons employed.	
		Spinners.	Weavers.
1817.....	1,983,212	4,980	14,479
1818.....			
1819.....			
1820.....	4,230,812	6,818	22,417
1821.....			
1822.....			
Increase on latter Period ..	2,247,600	1,838	7,938

It is, however, time to bring these tables* to a close; they are sufficient to produce conviction in the mind of any unprejudiced Englishman, that Ireland has not suffered in a mercantile point of view from her legislative connection with Great Britain. I do not expect, however, that they will be laid before the Irish people, who are studiously kept in the dark by the conductors of the Dublin press, who are, as if in mockery, termed "*Liberal*," but whose sole object seems to be to stir up national animosity, and gratify their paltry spleen, or mercenary principles, at the expense of truth

* The Parliamentary returns from which I have been last quoting, give the tonnage entered inwards into Ireland thus:

Average of Three Years each.	
1790	tons 622,013
1830	1,325,679
Increase	tons 703,666

and the real welfare of the country, which they so loudly boast being disinterestedly attached to. Some Irish public writers, unwilling to state falsehoods, allow the facts to escape, but endeavour to pervert the justice of the case; thus a recent and able Irish historian says, “*Dublin has thriven in spite of the Union.*”* There can be no doubt that Dublin has suffered a diminution of business in some branches; but what the capital lost, the country at large more than gained.† The case is so clearly and strongly illustrated by an Irish writer, who has lately written an impartial work on his country, that I am tempted to quote his language, as perfectly coinciding with the observations of men whose judgments are not warped by party zeal or personal motives.

“It cannot be hoped that Dublin will ever be a great emporium of commerce; nor is it necessary for Irish prosperity that she should be so, as a country’s fixed prosperity must always precede that of its

* O’Driscoll’s Ireland, vol. ii. p. 8.

† Since this chapter was written, I found the following corroboration of my statement in the *Dublin Freeman’s Journal*, 15th January 1833:—“BELFAST SHIPPING.—The increase of this kind of property has gone on, notwithstanding some years of great discouragement, very steadily these ten years past. The grand total number of vessels is 219, amounting to 23,681 tons. Last year a number of fine vessels owned at this port were lost: these, however, have been replaced by new ones. Of the above number, sixty vessels, measuring 13,554 tons, averaging 225 tons to each ship, are employed in the foreign commerce of this place; and the remaining 159 vessels, averaging sixty tons each, in the coasting and cross-channel trade.—*Mercantile Register.*”—For further statements *vide* Appendix.

chief city; and viewing the situation and circumstances of the Irish cities, it is doubtful whether, in the event of a repeal of the Union, Dublin should be the seat of government and the capital, as Cork is infinitely superior to her in geographical situation and local advantages. But the real interests of the people are not involved in so transitory a speculation: for they may prosper, however remote may be the seat of government. New York, Marseilles, Cadiz, Lyons, Bordeaux, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, and Belfast, have advanced in prosperity, though all distant from the seat of government; and so must Dublin, and every other city and town in Ireland, as the condition of the people shall improve."—*Stanley's Commentaries, Dublin, 1831, p. 88.*

This is all plain sailing, which every one but a distempered-brain enthusiast can comprehend. Edinburgh, for instance, before the Scottish Union with England, was proud, poor, and dissolute, like Dublin; but after her union peace was secured, and prosperity was the natural result. Mr. Stanley thus corroborates what the tables of tonnage at the beginning of this chapter and in the Appendix shews; the rapid prosperity of the outports.

"A very great error is committed by those who attribute the depreciation of the Dublin import trade solely to the Union. It is chiefly attributable to two other causes—the poverty of the people in the adjoining counties, in consequence of high rents, tithes, taxes, and low wages, and the *alteration in Irish commerce*, by which a number of towns now import the merchandize once imported into Dublin, Dundalk, Belfast, Derry, Sligo, Galway, Limerick, Tralee, Cork, Waterford, and Wexford, and numerous inferior but prospering places of trade, which intervene around the Irish coast. These are the true causes of the decline of the Dublin trade, and only one of them can be remedied."—*Stanley's Commentaries, Dublin, 1831, p. 87.*

The same writer justly observes that,

"The Repeal of the Union cannot accelerate the revivification of Irish manufactures. To gain a vigorous existence, their growth must

be gradual, like that of the human frame ; but if forced up by bounties, and by the imposition of restrictions on British fabrics, they would be without strength or beauty, and they would be an injury rather than a benefit to the country. The revival of Irish manufacturing power does not depend on the Repeal of the Union ;” p. 86.

Ireland, as well as England and France, suffered from the introduction of machinery. Thousands were thrown out of employment in the spinning of yarn alone. The invention of power and “ dandy ” looms injured materially the cotton weaver ; and the latter, in turn, impoverished many a family who subsisted by the linen trade ; while the introduction of vast quantities of French silks and gloves, threw out of employment those who subsisted by the exercise of these trades. It is, therefore, worse than folly to attribute the distress that occurred among the Irish artisans in Dublin to the legislative union with Great Britain. It would be equally just to ascribe the distressing condition of the weavers in Spitalfields, or that of the slavery of children in the factories at Leeds and Huddersfield, to the same cause.

The depression of the Irish manufactures has some time ago reached its utmost limit, and machinery is being introduced with advantage.*

The author last mentioned, as well as other recent writers, admit that the stuff and silk manufactures are gradually reviving, though not in every place in which they once flourished ; the

* Only one Dublin newspaper out of twenty is printed by steam.

manufacturers wisely confining themselves to the making of cheap and useful goods, which come within the means, and are at the same time suited to the tastes, of their countrymen.

“ At Belfast, for instance,” (says the intelligent author of the *Commentaries on Ireland* in 1831), “ the cotton manufacturers are extensive and prosperous ; there is, also, an extensive and prospering establishment at Waterford. There are several extensive manufactories of various kinds in and near Dublin, which supply the market with prints of great beauty and durability ; there are stuff and cotton manufactories carried on in King and Queen’s Counties, and on their borders ; there is a manufacturing trade in Drogheda ; and in the Northern manufacturing counties the weaving of fine linens is maintained, though without the general domestic employment formerly created by it, which the new system of spinning by machinery has destroyed. But it is only by adopting the English system of manufacturing, that the Irish manufactures can be brought to a flourishing state, even when the demand for them shall increase.” —pp. 101 and 108.

The same writer correctly observes :

“ Ireland has now no cause to complain of legislative preference given to British manufactures and trade ; on the contrary, Ireland has enjoyed for some years advantages not enjoyed in England or Scotland. Among others, her printed cotton manufactures, which are now in a very forward condition, have been exempt from duty, while those of Great Britain have been taxed. She has also been exempt from taxes on soap, starch, and candles, while the same articles paid duty in England.”—P. 96.

Ireland has also suffered from the manifold evils of a restricted currency, and from a want of perfect assimilation in value to the British currency. The Bank of Ireland issues for three years, thus explains the cause of periodical distress when aided by bad seasons :

BANK OF IRELAND ISSUES.

Currency.	1825.	1826.	1827.	Decrease between the last and first year.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Notes of £5 and upwards }	1,775,986	1,527,345	1,366,263	409,723
Notes under £5	2,467,708	1,978,807	1,482,536	985,172
Bank Post-bills	1,542,124	1,533,070	1,478,895	63,229
Total British £	5,794,818	5,039,222	4,327,694	1,458,124

Here we see one of the great causes of national misery; the Bank of Ireland holding a monopoly without public responsibility, has the power to starve the money market to the extent, in one year, of *one million and a half* of money, out of a circulation of little more than *four million*! Thus Scotland, with a population scarcely one-fourth that of Ireland, had, in 1826, a small note circulation to the amount of £2,079,244, and Ireland only £2,197,030. This, however, is a subject to which I can here but incidentally draw public attention; and I will conclude the chapter by a brief detail of facts, and a reference to the accompanying chart, which clearly displays the rapidly progressing state of Ireland. For instance, let the rental columns be examined,* and compared with what Newenham calculated the *entire* rental of Ireland at, in the year 1785,

* These columns are derived from the Down Survey, which is the most accurate that has yet been made. Newenham, when calculating the entire rental of Ireland at £6,000,000 in 1785, states that the absentee remittances to *England* merely were then £1,608,932; it is doubtful whether they are now so great.

namely, six million sterling. The extraordinary increase of population is another convincing test of the state of a nation; and it was correctly observed as such by Arthur Young, in his tour through Ireland in 1766, when he observes: "Ireland every where evinces the marks of a rapid increase of population." Various censuses have been made of the population of Ireland, but they have in general been framed on inaccurate data. At the end of Elizabeth's reign the population was estimated at not more than 700,000, and before the rebellion in 1641, at 1,466,000.* In—

1792	at 1,320,008	1767	at 2,544,276
1718	2,169,048	1777	2,690,565
1725	2,317,374	1785	2,845,932
1754	2,372,634		

These returns were all vague, some being founded on the data of private individuals, others on the hearth-money collector's returns. In 1805, Newenham estimated the population at 5,395,456, and an incomplete census of 1812 gives it at 5,937,356.

The only two correct censuses of the Irish population and houses are as follows:—

* The population of England in 1682 was so great as 7,369,230, on a surface of 49,450 square miles; so that it has not doubled itself in 150 years; but Ireland has doubled itself in about thirty years. Mr. O'Connell says that Ireland is not thickly peopled, and that it will support, in the greatest comfort, 16,000,000 of inhabitants; that is, 600 mouths on every square mile of land, bog, mountain, lake, and river, in Ireland! It is a remarkable feature in the present census of Ireland, that the number of females in every town far exceeds that of the male population.

Provinces.	1821.		1832.		Increase.	
	Population.	Houses.	Population.	Houses.	Population.	Houses.
Leinster ..	1,757,492	278,398	1,961,109	296,369	203,617	17,971
Ulster	1,998,484	359,801	2,353,928	412,023	355,434	52,222
Munster ..	1,935,612	306,995	2,163,694	341,438	228,082	34,443
Connaught	1,110,229	197,408	1,360,783	237,919	250,554	40,511
Totals ..	6,801,827	1,142,602	7,839,514	1,287,749	1,037,687	145,147

The augmentation of houses and population in Ulster province, where there was tranquillity during the period under consideration, is a striking feature in the country. Ireland contained, in 1792, only 701,102 houses, and the increase of the number of houses in the latter ten years is upwards of 123,000,* while it is a pleasing circumstance to be enabled to state, that the new buildings are all of the better class of habitations. Even in Dublin, the decay of which has been so loudly lamented, the improvement has been truly remarkable. Since the Union, more than one hundred handsome streets and squares have been added to Dublin; and, from 1821 to 1831, the number of new houses built have been 2,374. Building is now (February 1833) extending in

* The valuation of the houses in Dublin, inside the Circular Road, in 1831, was £704,757; and the minister's money, about which so much has been said, is but £7,285. 6s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Some of the parishes (*viz.* those of St. Patrick and Grange Gorman) are *not assessed at all*.

every direction, not only in the metropolis* itself but in the outskirts, connecting by continued streets the town with the country.

In 1813 Dublin contained but 110,437 inhabitants ; it now possesses, within the limits of the Circular Road, 203,752 souls, better lodged, better fed, and better paid as wages for labour, than they have heretofore been.

At the late chairing of the members for the city of Dublin, of the many thousand mechanics and labourers who attended it, there was not one person ill clad ; and there is absolutely every indication of greater poverty in any large city in England than in Dublin, where, although the poor are supported by voluntary contributions, the mass of misery which every large town exhibits is wonderfully diminishing, as the House of Commons Report in the Appendix proves.

The latest return of the Dublin Mendicity Institution is as follows :

DUBLIN MENDICITY INSTITUTION, Usher's Island.

Report for the Week ending the 12th of January, 1833 :—

Spinners	148
Knitters	60
Stone-breakers	71
Oakum-pickers	504
Infirm	341
Bruising Oats sent to the Institution	4
Employed in various ways	213
Sick, visited at their own Homes	158
Children receiving Education	283
Ditto, too young for Instruction	67
Total relieved by the Institution	1849

* Vide Dame Street, Harcourt Street, Baggott Street &c., and Rathsums, Kingstown Road, &c.

Thus we see that, out of a population of nearly 204,000, there are not 2,000 paupers,* and the number during the winter has not been greater than at the present moment. An ordinary mechanic in Dublin can earn 4s. per day ; but he drinks away one day in the week, and loses the wages of another day by the systems of combination among the workmen, which are carried to a shameful extent.

Before the Union, there were about ten hotels in Dublin ; now there are nearly fifty, and on a scale of grandeur and comfort not surpassed in London. The improved appearance of the shops is astonishing, and the number of splendid equipages which fill the streets are a strange proof of declining prosperity, while the increase of the Penny-post revenue, from £230 in 1800 to nearly £5,000 in 1830, shews the spread of business and intelligence throughout Dublin.

Before the Union, there were only fourteen public coaches in Ireland, starting *once* or *twice* a week ; now, exclusive of thirty-six mail coaches, (of which the increase has been thirty-two since the Union,) there are about *one hundred* public conveyances *daily* traversing every part of the country, as well built, horsed, and conducted, as the stage coaches of England.

In 1824 the first steam vessels commenced be-

* Every beggar found in the streets, is taken up by the police and conveyed to the Mendicity Institution.

tween England and Ireland; now there are fifty steam vessels between Great Britain and Ireland in a state of constant activity.* By means of the passage steam vessels between Dublin and Liverpool, the voyage is performed with certainty in little more than twelve hours, which twenty years ago sometimes occupied as many days.†

As an indication of the flourishing state of the provincial towns of Ireland, I give the following comparative table of 1821 and 1832. If the census for 1813 had been correct, as well as those previous to the Union, the rapid augmentation of such towns as Belfast, Newry, Galway, Cork, &c. would be well deserving of attention.

* It is in evidence before the late Parliamentary Committee, that by means of these steam vessels, any species of farming product finds an immediate and profitable market; even the ready-baked bread and killed meat is shipped in large quantities for Liverpool. The evidence states, that in the course of *one day* there have been shipped, from the port of Dublin alone, *ten tons weight* of live and dead poultry, and *fifty tons weight* of eggs; and that the value of eggs exported from Dublin during five years was £273,000. How long would such a trade continue with Ireland under a separate Parliament!

† This very facility of intercourse has caused a diminution of wholesale merchants, because the Irish retail shopkeeper may now shut up his shop at night-fall, be in Liverpool by day-light on the following morning, proceed to Manchester, &c., purchase his goods, return to Liverpool the same night, and be behind his counter the ensuing morning with a fresh stock of goods. Will the advocates for a repeal of the Union assert, after being obliged to acknowledge the truth of this statement, that a diminution of the wholesale mercantile houses in Dublin has been owing to the Union with England?

POPULATION and Number of HOUSES in Ireland, for 1821 and 1832.

Name of Towns.	1821.		1832.	
	No. of Houses.	Population.	Population.	No. of Houses.
Belfast	5,494	37,277	53,287	8,700
Newry	1,489	10,013	13,071	2,257
Londonderry	1,252	9,313	13,251	1,513
Cork	11,180	100,658	107,007	12,860
Dublin.....	13,578	175,585	203,752	15,952
Arklow	551	3,808	4,383	702
Downpatrick	787	4,123	4,784	897
Dungannon	498	3,243	3,515	652
Athy	310	1,838	4,494	733
Drogheda	3,164	18,118	17,365	3,311
Tullamore	955			1,111
Athlone Town and Bo- rough	1,019	5,517	6,342	1,853
Armagh	1,189	7,543	11,362	1,540
Tralee.....	1,039	8,493	9,189	1,426
Wexford.....	1,261	7,547	9,562	1,823
Dundalk	1,493	8,326	10,673	1,725
Sligo	1,480	9,256	10,078	2,667
Galway	1,480	9,943	15,152	2,667
Limerick	3,957	27,775	33,120	4,675
	7,208	59,045	66,675	8,257
Total.....	67,904	506,361	597,072	72,654

The Post-office department of a country may be taken as an indication of progressiveness in commerce and general intelligence. In England we find that the Post-office revenue was no greater in 1828 than in 1812 (*viz.* £1,400,000 each year), but in Ireland the augmentation has been considerable; the *gross* revenue was :

In 1795-1796, and 1797	£ 196,923
1825-1826, and 1827	614,536
Increase	£ 417,613

Here we find more than a trebling of the revenue of the latter period. The *net* receipts were :

In 1800	£ 36,930
1827	143,860
Increase	<u>£106,930</u>

Since the foregoing was written, I find the following yet stronger corroboration of my opinions, in a little work published in Dublin in 1831.*

IRISH POST-OFFICE in 1800.		IRISH POST-OFFICE in 1829.	
Gross Revenue	£88,260	Gross Revenue	£222,252
Penny Post ditto	230	Penny Post ditto	4,402
Total	<u>£88,490</u>	Total	<u>£226,654</u>
Post Towns	No. 279	Post Towns	No. 428
Mail Coaches	4	Mail Coaches	36
Other Mail Vehicles	none	Other Mail Vehicles	100

The Post-office revenue and establishments have gone on rapidly increasing since 1829: a fact which I state on authority derived during the present year.

The number of newspapers, and the stamps issued for them, have also considerably augmented since the Union.

Number of NEWSPAPERS in Ireland.			
	Dublin.	Country.	Total.
1800	7	18	25
1830	17	49	66
1831	19	53	72
1833	22	56	78
Increases on latter period	<u>15</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>53</u>

* A pamphlet by Mr. Gordon, published by Curry and Co., Sackville Street.

The number of copies printed have kept pace with the number named ;* I have only the latter years before me.

Number of STAMPS issued for Irish NEWSPAPERS.

1822	No. 3,013,593
1823	3,043,919
1824	3,287,573
1825	3,395,580
1826	3,516,227
1831	4,430,068
1832	4,600,000

Increase No. 1,586,407

There are at present (1833) in Dublin six *daily* political newspapers—seven *tri-weekly*, and seven *weekly*; eight weekly literary journals, a quarterly review, two monthly political and literary magazines, and a quarterly medical and chemical journal. There is also a musical periodical, and several others which I do not recollect the names of, and there are many others on the *tapis*. As connected with the subject I may state, that the Librarian of the Dublin Museum informs me, that the number of visitors to the museum is rapidly augmenting; in proof of which he has furnished me with the numbers for three years.

VISITORS to the DUBLIN MUSEUM.

In 1828	No. 17,263
1830	30,392
1831	38,313

* The Stamp duty on advertisements has increased in a greater proportion than the number of Newspapers or Stamps issued; in some years it has even doubled itself, in Dublin as well as in the provincial towns.

The year 1832 has also increased in a like proportion.*

The number of banking establishments have increased, and are increasing.

Before the Union there were of Banks	12
In 1830	36
Increase	24

With several millions of capital.

But it is in the Savings Banks, which have commenced within the last few years, that we witness the increasing comforts and provisionary care of the people. The Savings Banks have indeed proved a blessing to Ireland.†

Number of SAVINGS BANKS, of DEPOSITORS, and amount of DEPOSITS.

1828-29	No. 65	31,500	£864,854
1829-30	73	34,201	905,056
1830-31	77	37,898	1,004,189

The totals of Great Britain and Ireland for 1833 are as follows:—

* It is very pleasing to observe the increasing number of libraries and the subscriptions to them in Dublin, as well as in the provincial towns; and those active and intelligent news-agents, Messrs. Johnstone and Co., of Dublin, inform me, that the sale of English periodicals is increasing, with wonderful rapidity, in every part of Ireland; while there is also an indigenous Irish literature springing up, which promises to convert the seat of the Muses from Edinburgh to Dublin.

† The National Debt Office returns shew that in 1830-31, and 1832, the amount paid in Irish Saving Banks was £800,069; and the sums drawn out but £762,196. The deposits paid in, in 1830, were £240,401; and in 1831 they were increased to £288,075.

SUMMARY of SAVINGS BANKS in ENGLAND, WALES, and IRELAND for 1830-31.

	ENGLAND.		WALES.		IRELAND.	
Number of Depositors under £20 each	195,035	8,698 inc.*	5,186	69 inc.	18,945	1,925 inc.
Ditto.. under £50	102,536	688 inc.	3,234	80 dec.	12,991	2,145 inc.
Ditto .. under £100	47,903	139 inc.	1,296	23 inc.	4,622	300 inc.
Ditto .. under £150	17,031	150 dec.	384	2 inc.	982	68 inc.
Ditto .. under £200	7,908	282 inc.	177	25 inc.	293	69 inc.
Ditto .. above £200	3,756	445 dec.	97	1 dec.	65	2 dec.
Total Number of Depositors.....	374,169	9,212 inc.	10,374	39 inc.	37,898	4,505 inc.
Total Number of Friendly Societies..	4,162	71 inc.	167	6 inc.	234	66 inc.
Total Number of Charitable Societies	1,996	216 inc.	53	15 inc.	347	79 inc.
Total Number of Accounts ..	380,327	9,499 inc.	10,594	60 inc.	38,479	4,650 inc.
Total Amount of Investments	12,916,028	3,597 dec.	349,794	4,047 dec.	1,045,825	122,642 inc.
Average Amount of each Depositor	.. £ 32 ..	..	.. £ 31 ..	..	.. £ 26	..

* Increase as compared with the preceding year.

Thus it will be seen, that while there was a *decrease* of the amount of investments in England and Wales in 1831-32 as compared with the preceding year, there was a large *increase* in Ireland to the amount of £22,642. The philanthropic Dr. Orpen, of Dublin, and the talented Mr. Tidd Pratt, inform me that the augmentation for 1832-33 is truly gratifying.

In the summary just given, the increase of the number of depositors under £50 is but 688 for England, and for Ireland it is 2,145; under £100 for England, increase 139, and for Ireland 300. The returns for the present year will shew yet more the increasing comforts of the nation at large.*

Education is making extraordinary strides; the increased number of scholars on three years, given in the accompanying Statistical Chart, is nearly 200,000; but since 1824 the progress has been much more rapid.

The excise revenue in Ireland was :

In 1802	£475,732
1825	1,964,873
Increase	<u>£1,489,141</u>

The extended exports of Ireland since the Union are shewn in the early part of this chapter; but

* Lord Althorp has, it is understood, a bill in progress for the granting of Life Annuities in Ireland, a measure which will be productive of much advantage, and which is eagerly expected.

lest it should be said those exports only shew the drain on the country by absentees, I give the value of the imports from Great Britain by Ireland, as well as the value of the exports from Ireland to Great Britain. The only return before me is for 1825, and it is a fair criterion for most other years.

Exports from Ireland to Great Britain	.....	£5,588,146
Imports from Great Britain to Ireland	.....	£5,006,639

Indeed, if it be considered that the total annual value of the landed produce of Ireland is £45,636,563, the absurdity of supposing that the remittance to absentees, were it even so great as two or three millions, would have but an inconsiderable effect as a drain out of upwards of *forty-five million* sterling. But it must be recollected, that the exports of Irish linens form a very large item in the trade of Ireland, and that it is now on the increase, having got over the temporary depression which the manufacture, cheapness, and consumption of cotton goods occasioned.

EXPORTS of IRISH LINENS to GREAT BRITAIN.

In 1800.....	31,978,039 yards.
1810.....	32,584,545
1820.....	40,318,270
1825.....	52,559,678

The latter year is the last period for which a separate return has been made, and the declared Custom-house value of these 52,559,678 yards was £2,893,018; or taking the whole of the

linens at so low a rate as 1s. per yard, the amount would be £2,627,988; thus forming a large sum in the exports of Ireland, which cannot be said to be taken from the food of the people. Mr. O'Connell asserts, that the woollen trade of Ireland was put down by reason of the English jealousy: but he omits to state, that it was the unfortunate Earl of Strafford, when Viceroy of Ireland, who placed prohibitions on the export of Irish woollens; that at the moment of doing so, every encouragement was held out for the prosecution of the linen trade; and that the reason for promoting the woollen business in the one country and the linen in the other, was to prevent a clashing of interests while the two countries were governed by separate Parliaments. But so far was Strafford from being an enemy to Ireland, that he paid £30,000 out of his own pocket for the encouragement of the linen trade. Moreover, the Irish Parliament itself, in 1697-98, passed the bill for checking the woollen manufacture in Ireland, the grounds for so doing being the prevention of jealousies between the two legislatures; such, even then, were the evils of separate Parliaments.

Almost every trade in Ireland, previous to the Union, and up to a late period, was supported by enormous bounties and protecting duties,* and

* At the period of the Union, the protecting duty on grey and white cottons, for instance, was £68 per cent. *ad valorem*, and on prints £46 per cent.

when these were withdrawn, however gradually, the artificial excitement necessarily subsided, and it was some time before a healthy reaction took place. That crisis, however, has passed, and manufactures are now being extended in every part of Ireland, while the wages of labour are on the rise, and the comforts of the bulk of the people augmenting.*

The authentic statements which this chapter presents, demonstrates the falsity of the assertion, that Ireland has suffered in a *commercial* point of view by her legislative union with Great Britain. The very reverse is actually the case; and we may now proceed to consider calmly, whether Ireland has suffered in a political capacity from that union, which has been so erroneously described as the parent of mercantile distress and personal slavery.

* Every assertion made in this chapter, as to the progressive improvement of Ireland, is amply borne out by the witnesses before the late Select Committee of the House of Commons on the state of the Irish poor;—their evidence is indeed stronger than any I have adduced, and the reader will be repaid for his trouble in perusing its abstract in the Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE UNION ;—SHEWING ITS MISERY AND TURBULENCE UNDER A SEPARATE LEGISLATURE ;—THE ORIGIN OF THAT LEGISLATURE, AND ITS NON-ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF A PARLIAMENT BY WANT OF THE POWER TO VOTE OR CHECK SUPPLIES TO THE CROWN ;—THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION OF 1798 DEMONSTRATED, AND THAT IT WAS NOT FOSTERED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF CARRYING THE UNION PROVED ;—IRELAND NEVER SO MUCH AN INDEPENDENT KINGDOM AS AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

THE irrefutable facts contained in the foregoing pages might be considered amply sufficient to refute what Mr. O'Connell terms his "arguments" in favour of a repeal of the Union ; for it has been shewn that Ireland did not prosper at the celebrated period so often alluded to (from 1782 to 1800) ; and that she has progressed, if not rapidly, at least steadily, since her incorporation with Great Britain ;—an incorporation by which the freedom of the subject was secured, and commercial advantages (as has been justly observed) reconciled with constitutional rights. But the honourable gentleman, with a wiliness and tact more worthy of astonishment than approbation, not

content with trusting to the effect of reason for accomplishing his object, has enlisted on his side every species of vituperation which language affords, for the purpose of intimidating those who, unconvinced by his assertions, or regardless of his vindictiveness, have dared to think for themselves, and pursue such a path as they may deem most conducive to the welfare of their country.

Mr. O'Connell, doubtless aware that his fallacious statements about Irish commercial prosperity might be detected, and deeply conversant with the nationality and sanguineness of the Irish character, has superadded to pretended arguments appeals to patriotism, and denounced as traitors all who refuse to aid him in his endeavours for the separation of Ireland from England. His constant shout, at every political club, every charitable assembly, every social festival, is that "Ireland must be a kingdom again, and no longer a province!" If there were justice in the assertion, that Ireland is now a province, or that she has ever been more thoroughly a kingdom than she is at present, reason would be a more powerful weapon than appealing to the passions of a people. But no—the subtleness of the lawyer avails more than the truth of the logician; and every man is exposed to instant contempt and future punishment who prefers the latter mode of ratiocination to the former. Take, for instance, one or two specimens of the language of a man whose cry is for conciliation

among all parties, and allowing toleration to every species of opponent :

“ No man but an *enemy to Ireland* can be opposed to a repeal of the Union, or *hesitate* to join the repealers.”—“ The man who would endeavour to prolong the destructive measure of the Union, must wish, by his opposition, *to starve the people*, and keep the destitute without raiment or support.”*—*Mr. O’Connell’s Speech, Dublin Journals, 27th November 1832.*

Again,—

“ Shame, eternal shame, on the Irishman who is *so base*, so paltry, as to be content that his native country should be a pitiful province! *May the men shun the wretch, and the women despise him!*”—*Dublin Repealer Newspaper, November 1832.*

I leave such language to the merit which it deserves, and to the ineffable contempt which must be excited in the bosom of every honest man who desires the maintenance and exercise of his own thoughts; † but it may as well be remarked, that the expressions above quoted, as well as

* The Quakers, notwithstanding their exemplary conduct, and extraordinary efforts for the amelioration, not only of their countrymen, but of the whole human race, are denounced by Mr. O’Connell (in *The Freeman’s Journal*, January 14, 1833), because they voted against him at his election, as “ *the greatest of bigots and hypocrites!*” The Quakers, indeed, ought to be proud of having received the censure of Mr. O’Connell.

† Well may the Rev. Henry Montgomery, a Unitarian clergyman of Belfast, in his admirable exposure of Mr. O’Connell, exclaim, when addressing the learned gentleman, “ *You dare to talk of liberty of conscience and of speech! Are you not ashamed? Has not any man as much right to deprecate a repeal of the Union, as Daniel O’Connell has to advocate the dissolution of that connexion?*”

thousands of others, demonstrate what mercy an unfortunate member would receive in Mr. O'Connell's anticipated Irish parliament, if he dared to dissent, however mildly, from the opinion of the dictator.

It has been shewn that the grand basis of Mr. O'Connell's argument for repeal (namely, the prosperity of all Ireland being owing to legislative freedom from 1782 to 1800) is unsupported by facts; as also that Ireland has suffered from the Union, and the corollary built thereon has consequently been proved invalid. Let us examine the other argument; namely, that Ireland ought to be a kingdom again, and no longer a "pitiful province:" for a minute investigation of the works of any historian who has written on Ireland demonstrates that she never possessed such practical liberty, or was so thoroughly a free kingdom as at the present period,

Of the aborigines of Erin we know as little certain as we do of Albion,* but national pride has been strained to the utmost limit to display antiquity of descent. Cæsara, a niece of Noah, is said to have emigrated thither with a large retinue *previous* to the deluge; this honour is however denied to Cæsara by some, who contend that the first colonizer was Partholan, a descendant of

* The best historians think Ireland was peopled from Britain, and that their separation into two islands was owing to an earthquake.

Japhet, who, in the year of the world 1956, on the dispersion of the presumptuous builders of the Tower of Babel, sought refuge with his followers in the Emerald Isle, after being expelled from Greece! To the descendants of Shem, who refused to coalesce with the cursed posterity of Ham, the merit of discovering Ireland is also assigned; while others contend that the execrated children of Ham, under the name of Fomorians, came from Africa to Ireland, A. M. 2400. A colony of the posterity of Japhet is also said to have arrived there from the Euxine, and to have fiercely contended for the dominion of the island during four centuries with the wicked Fomorians. The latter, although finally successful, were themselves destroyed, after many years bloody contests, by the renowned Firl-bogs,* from Belgium, A. M. 2503; and these again, after retaining their conquests several years, were beaten in turn (A. M. 2541) by the gallant Danonians, from Norway and Sweden, who, after slaying many thousand Firl-bogs, including their monarch, drove the remnant to the Isles of Man, Hebrides, &c., and remained masters of Ireland for more than two centuries. Then came the Milesians, a celebrated race, who, quitting Egypt and Phœnicia for the subjugation of Spain, became the rulers of Ireland, after many sanguinary contests with the Danonians (A. M. 2736).

* From *fir*, men; and *bolg*, Belgæ.

The chronology of these contending colonizers runs thus:—

The Partholarians	1956 A.M.
The Nimhedians	2286 do.
The Firl-bogs	2503 do.
The Danonii	2541 do.
The Milesians	2736 do.

From this period, and for the greater part of eleven centuries, the island was kept in a state of constant excitement by invasions of the Firl-bogs, Gauls, Danes, Picts, &c., and by never-ending dissensions among the rulers: for, of 178 monarchs of the Milesian colony, from Heber and Heremon down to Roderick O'Connor (who was ruler when the English arrived), only twenty died natural deaths; sixty were treacherously murdered and succeeded by their assassins, and seventy-one were slain in battle.*

The most ferocious or the subtlest man was nominally ruler of the whole island; then there were four or five provincial rulers beneath him; then there were innumerable grades of tributary chiefs, none interfering with each other, all professing fealty to the power directly above them; and last of all came the mass of the people, in a state of brutal servitude.

The condition of society under such a *regime* may easily be imagined; *No man*, (says Sir John Davis, the historian) *could enjoy his life, wife, lands, or goods in safety, if a mightier man than*

* Harris's edition of Sir J. Ware's Antiquities.

himself had an appetite for them, and the weak had no remedy against the stronger. Common repudiation of wives, promiscuous generation of children; neglect of lawful matrimony; “*coigne and livery*,” “*cosherings*,” or visitations by a lord on his tenants; “*gavelkind*,” by which, when one individual of a family died, the possessions, real and personal, of the whole sept were put into a hotch-pot (as the lawyers call it), and divided among the whole members of a clan, legitimate and illegitimate; these customs, among many others equally uncivilized, which the Brehon Institutes display, one of which ordained that *murder* was commutable into a fine, denominated the “*eirick*,” to be levied according to the rank of the individual, all sufficiently attest the barbarism which pervaded Ireland on the landing of Henry II. at Waterford, in October, A.D. 1171, when he expelled the Danes, who, from the commencement of the year 800 A.D. had held sovereign sway in Dublin and other places, and were only finally driven out by British valour. Indeed, every Irish historian, however partial to his native land, admits that, for centuries previous to the arrival of Strongbow, Ireland was an *Acheldama*—a horrible field of blood!

The crime which Henry was invited over to Ireland to redress—the want of almost the commonest architectural structures for the people—the deep degradation to which the mass of the

populace were subjected, as also the very trifling number of inhabitants which the whole island contained,—all demonstrated that Ireland could not even then be considered as ranking among the kingdoms of the earth. Yet this is the only period to which Mr. O'Connell can point as a confirmatory proof, that Ireland ought again to become a kingdom as before. Henry immediately began the task of incorporating the two islands. He wisely saw, that nature had placed them in juxtaposition, to be a support to each other, and that such a measure would be best secured by giving to his Irish subjects the same constitution as England; accordingly, when the Danes were expelled, the districts were divided into counties or shires: courts of justice were erected in Dublin, (*viz.* Chancery, King's Bench, and Exchequer), and the Irish in the vicinity of Dublin soon sued as a boon for the English laws, thus virtually acknowledging the benefit they derived from them. But Henry II., although he assembled a sort of Parliament in Dublin, to aid his efforts for the tranquillization and prosperity of the country, did not erect Ireland into a separate kingdom; he merely took the title of *Lord of all Ireland*, a title which the Pope confirmed, and which Henry sent his son John to fill, during his absence in England; while it must be borne in mind, that the assumption by Henry VIII. of the style of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, was attended by no

change of circumstances in the latter country, the word *King* being merely substituted for *Lord*, which the Pope had conferred, and which Henry VIII. renounced, while throwing off all allegiance to the Pope, on assuming the supremacy of the church;* it is therefore worse than idle talk, to be asserting the right of Ireland to be restored to her former state as a kingdom; the claims of Scotland and Wales, or the different branches of the Saxon Heptarchy, would be equally as tenable and reasonable as those of Mr. O'Connell. Let us now proceed to examine the nature of that anomalous community denominated the Irish Parliament.

Ireland, since the landing of Henry, was never possessed of that essential branch of a constitution denominated a House of Commons, in the only correct designation of the term, *viz.* a body representing the people, and checking the crown in pecuniary matters.† Assemblies under the denomination of Parliaments were, it is true, convened

* It is worthy of remark, that the Irish prelates whose names are on the back of the roll acknowledging Henry as the supreme head of the church, are Dublin, Cassel, Tuam, Waterford, Kildare, Ferney's, Immolacien, and Lymic. This declaration was in the thirty-third year of Henry's reign.

† The hereditary revenues vested in the Crown for the support of Government were supplied by a land-tax, a poll-tax, inland excise, ale and wine licenses, &c. In 1793 the amount of revenue for two years, clear of all charges, was £925,300. In 1786 the produce of the hereditary crown revenues were £630,471, and the charges for management were so great as £368,221, or more than one-half of the entire revenue!

at different periods for the better government of Ireland ; sometimes in Dublin, sometimes in one of the provinces, and sometimes in London, and of late most frequently in the first-mentioned city. By the 49th and 50th record of Edward III., a Parliament composed of learned and distinguished peers, prelates, and commoners residing in Ireland, was summoned to attend in England, “to treat” (as the writ expresses it) “with the king about the affairs of Ireland, and others of the king’s arduous and urgent concerns ;”—*de aliis negotiis arduis et urgentibus nos consentibus*. Here we see, that although the crown had previously assembled Parliaments in Ireland (the first Parliament regularly convened in Ireland was in the ninth year of Edward II., who summoned it to protect the people from the injustice and oppressions of the chiefs, who plundered their serfs under pretence of defending the country against Edward Bruce’s invasion), yet it had the power to assemble it in London as well as in Dublin,—a power afterwards exercised by Cromwell, who, as I have before said, desired to consolidate England and Ireland the more firmly by having one code of laws, one system of commerce, one Parliamentary assembly ; and therefore, during the protectorship, forty representatives were summoned from Ireland to attend the United Parliament in London, none being permitted to be assembled in Dublin. But another circumstance shews more clearly the

nature of the so-called Irish House of Commons. Up to the period of its incorporation with the British Parliament in 1800, the crown was under no necessity of applying to the Irish Parliament annually for supplies, the revenues of Ireland being hereditarily vested in the crown for the support of Government. Nor was it till after the Union, that Irishmen can be said to have had representatives on the intelligible principle of controlling national taxation and expenditure. This is a fact which Mr. O'Connell has, either intentionally or wilfully, entirely kept back from the public view ; a course which, I trust, he will not continue to pursue, the suppression of truth being, in reality, equivalent to falsehood.

The constitution and proceedings of the Irish Parliaments next deserve attention. The evils of a separate legislature were soon felt to be very great : during the ruinous contests of the Houses of York and Lancaster, but more particularly during the lord-lieutenancy of the Duke of York and his successors, the Irish Viceroy summoned Parliaments at his pleasure, *rege inconsulto*, and bills were passed without any regard to order or decency, the statutes made by one faction being held of no validity by the lord deputy of another faction, by whom they were rescinded. The rival factions did not, however, confine themselves to repealing each other's laws ; they also confiscated each other's estates when in power, and convened at the

same moment different assemblies, each assuming to themselves the rights, privileges, and authorities of a Constitutional Parliament! After a terrible state of discord, the strongest faction at last set up an impostor named Lambert Simnel, as the representative of the House of York, and crowned him king of England in Dublin!* Here we have a specimen of the proceedings which would inevitably take place in the event of Mr. O'Connell's project being realized, the consequences of which it is not so easy to foresee. The wisdom of Henry VII. soon put a stop to such disastrous confusion; an able lawyer, named Sir Edward Poynings, was sent over to compose the distracted state of the English pale.†

A Parliament was regularly summoned and an act passed, since known under the name of Poyning's act, by which it was provided that "no Parliament be holden hereafter in Ireland but at such season as the King's lieutenant in council there first do certify to the King, under the great seal of the land, the causes and considerations thereof, and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same Parliament." The Lord Lieutenant or the King in Council became by this act the proposer of all laws to be passed.

* Lambert Simnel was crowned at Christ Church, Dublin, A.D. 1486, as Edward IV.

† So called because all persons residing within the boundaries thereof were under English laws.

Mr. O'Connell, in his ever earnest endeavours to influence the minds of his countrymen against the English, repeatedly calls attention to it as one of the cruel specimens of English domination,* but he omits to inform his hearers of the circumstances under which it originated; and he is equally silent as to the fact, that it was at the time one of the most popular acts ever passed in Ireland, on account of the people being thereby relieved from thousands of local oppressions under the cover of acts of Parliament; while that eloquent and patriotic Irish historian, Mr. O'Driscoll, thinks it would have been better for Ireland had Grattan left untouched Sir E. Poyning's act.† This act was modified in the third year of Philip and Mary, by the Governor and Council being empowered to certify such other causes requiring legislation, which were not foreseen at the beginning of the session.

In fact, the Irish legislature was never considered independent of Britain, from the time of Lord Coke to Blackstone; and English acts of Parliament in which Ireland was named were held to be binding; this was positively declared by statute 6 George I. c. 5, which originated in disputes between both Parliaments, as to the finability of an appeal in the Irish House of Lords; the Irish Parliament was therefore, as Campbell,

* *Vide* Dublin Register, Freeman's Journal, &c. for January 1833.

† Vol. ii. p. 180.

the historian of 1789, says, little better than the registry of royal edicts.

By the Duke of Dorset's letters-patent in 1750,* (a copy of which are now before me), his Grace was authorized "to summon and hold a Parliament in Ireland whensoever it shall seem most expedient to him, the royal consent in that behalf being first asked and obtained;" and by the 22d paragraph of the same letters-patent, his Grace was "authorized to prorogue and adjourn the Parliament as often as necessity shall require, and fully to determine and dissolve the same."

In 1753† violent disputes arose between the legislature and the crown, as to the manner in which the surplus revenues should be disposed of, as the Irish members of Parliament were squandering the surplus money in the most shameful manner, for their private advantage.

The contest respecting the appropriation of the surplus revenue, which it was contended belonged to the King, to be disposed of for the benefit of the nation, the revenues being hereditarily fixed upon him, shook the empire to the

* Until 1767 the deputation of the Lord Lieutenant was but biennial, and his residence for only one winter, the country being governed by three lords justices, one of which was the Lord Primate or Lord Chancellor, and the other two nobles chosen by the crown.

† From 1666 to 1692 there was no regular meeting of the Irish parliament at all, so little was it considered a constituent assembly. Four sessions were held in the reign of William III.; and from 1703 to 1783, it was only convened biennially.

centre, and terminated only by the Irish Commons conceding to the crown the contested claim. Dissension was for a time suppressed, but its seeds were not eradicated. The period when England was waging a fearful contest against France and America was chosen by the agitators of the day for the completion of their project. They asked for troops to defend the coast from invasion, well knowing that England had none to spare; and deluded men of the highest rank and talent in the land to join them in what was pretended to be a patriotic cause.

By the permission of England, 50,000 men, as if sown by Cadmus, instantly sprang into activity, and were no sooner organized than they commenced dictating to the Parliament, and threatening England with separation.

His Majesty accordingly, in 1782, sent a message to the Irish Parliament, offering them a *carte blanche*, to fill up with Irish grievances. The Commons of Ireland, under the influence of the guns and sabres of the Volunteers, declared that none but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had power to make laws for Ireland. Mr. Grattan undertook to be the tranquillizer of his country; Poyning's Act was repealed; the Irish Commons and Lords obtained power to pass as well as to originate bills; to assemble a Parliament annually; a *final adjustment upon all* constitutional points was completed, so that no difference should

ever again arise between England and Ireland; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered up to heaven, in gratitude that there could no longer exist any constitutional question to disturb mutual tranquillity. "But," says Mr. Plowden, the enthusiastic defender of Ireland and the Irish Parliament, "it appears as if it had been written in the book of fate, that the felicity of Ireland, whilst separate from Great Britain, should be shortlived, precarious, and uncertain."*

New points of dispute between the two legislatures commenced, and even the very noisy debaters of the Irish Parliament took opposite sides. Mr. Flood, for instance, contended that a repeal of the declaratory act 6 Geo. Ist. did not establish the constitutional independence of Ireland; Mr. Grattan as fiercely contended that it did.

The real friends of Ireland, who preferred the substantial welfare of their country to the fanciful prospects of interested partizans, soon saw that what was farcically termed the "Constitution of Irish Independence," must inevitably lead to separation from England, or a legislative incorporation; they wisely chose the latter as the lesser evil of the two, and accordingly so early as 1782† (the famed year of independence), the Union between both countries was proposed and debated.

* Plowden's History, p. 16.

† The Irish House of Lords in Ann's time petitioned her majesty for a legislative incorporation.

I use the word *farcical* as applied to the boasted constitution of Ireland, because it was clearly shewn in the Parliamentary debates of the period, that it was a mockery of terms to apply the word "constitution" to the mere demolition of an act of parliament (Poyning's act), and which could never by any perversion afterwards be considered as erecting a constitution,* seeing that the abolition of the act was but the removal of a restriction; and it will surely be admitted, that to pull down an obstruction is a very different thing to building up an edifice. I have before said, that a solemn thanksgiving was offered up in 1782, in gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of Kingdoms, that no constitutional differences could ever again take place between England and Ireland. The patriots of that day were as sure that a "*final* adjustment" had taken place, as those of the present day are that Repeal is the *ultimatum* of Irish grievances, and that it would not be followed by separation or civil war. But human nature is no more virtuous now, nor less selfish and discontented than it has ever been. The *final* adjustment of 1782 was soon found not to be final; nay more, that it actually led, as was predicted, to the danger of separation. This is corroborated by many facts; take, for instance, as being nearest to me, the language of the patriotic Mr. Foster, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, who said in the Irish parliament, in 1785, scarcely

* The county of Kerry Regiment demanded one hundred consti-
tions at different periods.

more than two years after the “*final adjustment*,” “Things cannot *remain* as they are; commercial jealousy is roused, and it will increase with *two* independent Legislatures. Without an united interest in commerce in a commercial empire political union will receive many shocks, and *separation of interest* must threaten *separation of connection*, which every honest Irishman must shudder to look at as a possible event.”

The British Parliament did all in its power to conciliate the paltry personal pride of the few demagogues who swayed the Irish Parliament. An act of Parliament was passed in London (23d Geo. III. c. 28) entirely rescinding the act of George I.; Ireland was admitted to a participation in the East-India trade (then in the monopoly of the East-India Company) for twenty years, and various regulations and laws were passed, and fleets fitted out for the protection of Irish trade and manufactures.

At the instance of the British Ministry, the first concessions were made to the Irish Roman Catholics in 1788, by a bill enabling them to take leases for 999 years, and abolishing all penal statutes against discoveries, &c.; and by the bill of 1793 the elective franchise was, at the same instigation, granted to the Roman Catholics unqualified, though they had asked for it under certain restrictions; they were made eligible as grand and petit jurors; were enabled to hold commissions in the army and navy; every restraint on property

was removed, and but a few of the highest situations (as in the Emancipation Bill of 1829) were closed against the upper ranks, while the middle and lower classes were placed on an equality with their neighbours of different religious persuasions. Such were (among many others) the efforts of the British Government to conciliate Irishmen, and calm their restless desire for change; but the breach between both countries became daily wider. The very act by which the ministry had sought to secure peace, namely, admitting the Roman Catholics to the exercise of the elective franchise, split the *celebrated, patriotic, and liberal* Irish volunteers of 1782 into contending parties. Lord Charlemont, and a vast number of the wealth and talent of the country, violently opposed the measure; and thus the Nobleman who, at the head of the officers of 50,000 volunteers at Dungannon, was termed the father of the constitution and the saviour of his country, was now denounced and marked out as an object for popular vengeance.

The country, as I have said in a former chapter, was torn (from 1782 upwards) by factions and intestine feuds; by men and communities, under the designations of Patriots, Agitators, Right-boys, White-boys, Peep-of-Day-boys, Conventions, Aggregate Bodies, Catholic Committees, Tarring and Feathering Committees, Defenders, Assassins, Houghers of Men and Houghers of Cattle, Associators, Whig Clubs, St. James's Delegates, Exchequer Street

Delegates, National Congresses, Emancipators, United Irishmen, Reformers, Revolutionists, Societies of Peace and Societies of War, &c. &c. A grand armed convention assembled in Dublin in 1783 (after the *final* adjustment); they prepared a bill for parliamentary reform; it was read before them, committed, engrossed, and passed, with all the usual parliamentary forms. After which the bill was forwarded to the House of Commons, and given in by some members of the armed convention, accoutred in their military uniform. The House of Commons, however, had the spirit indignantly to reject a measure thus presented to them on the point of the bayonet. In March 1794, an armed mob broke into the House of Commons in consequence of the rejection of a bill, and James Napper Tandy, a broken shopkeeper, at the head of the "Aggregates," engaged and took on himself to overawe Parliament and the Government, and to regulate the police of the metropolis. In fact, armed associations controlled every act of the Legislature. *Non-importation of British produce* was resolved on; the houses and persons of shopkeepers who were suspected of not favouring the non-importation act were furiously assailed whenever it was possible, the *patriots*, in highly obnoxious instances, proceeding to tar and feather the popular delinquent. No loyal gentleman could venture to remain in his country-house unless

protected by a military guard ; the magistrates of the kingdom were daily threatened ; jurors perjured themselves, rather than be murdered ; assassins were acquitted ; crown witnesses slain ; and the rebel wore his green or yellow badge in triumph.

In 1793, the House of Commons was set fire to while the Members were sitting, and amidst the shouts of an immense and ferocious multitude ; the Representatives had just time to escape, when the vast dome became enveloped in flames, and falling in, crushed every thing beneath it. The infernal deed was caused by a chemical preparation, which lit before its intended time ; but so little did its projectors fear discovery, that a few days before the conflagration a placard was posted under the proclamation for the apprehension of James Napper Tandy, then affixed to the gate of the House of Lords, which placard ran as follows:—
 “ The Members of a certain great house, not far from the College, are hereby cautioned how they persecute to ruin a virtuous citizen, for defending his character and asserting the liberties of Ireland ; if they do not, let them beware of the awl of the cobbler of Messina ! ” *

In fine, assassinations became terribly frequent, and, as a writer of the day says, every principle of humanity and morality was sapped by the insidious speeches, proclamations, and publications of

* A depôt of pikes was found, at the same time, in Suffolk-street, adjoining the Parliament House.

pretended patriots or dangerous enthusiasts ; plans of general insurrection were drawn up ; military organization was effected ; negotiations for foreign assistance in men and money arranged ; the separation of Ireland from England openly avowed ; and the establishment of a republic, under the protection of France and America, unhesitatingly acknowledged.

The success of the British arms against France in 1793 checked for a moment the progress of the enemies of British connexion ; the associations, however, were still maintained ; large bodies of men assembled under pretence of attending funerals, in order to demonstrate their strength ;* the Irish emissaries in France did every thing in their power to retard the efforts of Lord Malsbury, at Lisle, for peace ; many people joined the United Irishmen, supposing them to be the strongest party in the state ;† while others joined for fear of being sacrificed : a fact which is confirmed by the Reports of the Select Committees of Parliament, which specifically charge the United Irishmen with holding regular committees of assassination, to whose orders numbers of the loyal fell victims : the names of the obnoxious were even printed‡

* Ten thousand *men* assembled at one funeral in Dublin.

† Nelson's History.

‡ Lords Carhampton and Clare, the Beresfords, and others, who all had their lives attempted, and who seemed to have been almost miraculously preserved.

and circulated ! No concession, no kindness, could produce tranquillity. In 1795 the poor were relieved from the hearth-money tax; a Roman Catholic college was founded at Maynooth, and a satisfactory mode of issuing money from the Treasury adopted. The Administration of Lord Camden was blamed either for its imbecility or misdirected humanity, in refusing to use harsh measures towards the disturbers of the country; his Lordship's invariable answer was,—let us try every effort at conciliation; it is terrible to resort to force. Yet, with all these facts staring us in the face, Mr. O'Connell has the hardihood to charge the English Government with fomenting the rebellion of 1798, for the purpose of carrying the Union!

Catholic emancipation was brought forward in 1797, in the Irish House of Commons, and out of 300 voices but nineteen supported it. The measure, however, produced no excitement in the public mind; the system of military organization throughout the country was of far greater importance; and such was the profound secrecy with which it was conducted, that not a single Orange Lodge was established in Wexford within one month previous to the dreadful massacres in that county, when 160 Protestants were savagely butchered, in cold blood, in the streets, and when five clergymen (two of them above eighty years of age) were massacred in as ignominious and painful

a manner as it was possible to invent. Such, indeed, was the injudicious mildness, or rather weakness of Lord Camden's administration, that when the Irish Government were disarming Kildare, and were desirous of pursuing the same course in Wexford, particularly on account of its being the nearest port to Brest, the parish priests instantly assembled the people; hypocritical loyal addresses were signed by thousands, and immediately sent to the castle. The Government believed the protestations made to them, and all the troops were withdrawn, except a small detachment of the North Cork Militia: the insurgents throughout the county rose at a given signal; the unfortunate company of the militia were speedily massacred. Murder, most foul and unnatural, (for it was perpetrated by servants on masters and mistresses under whose roofs they had resided for years in the enjoyment of every comfort and indulgence), spread its desolation over the land, and 50,000 well-armed, ferocious and inhuman-like insurgents carried fire and slaughter throughout the country. Why was all this? Because the authorities believed the protestations of the people and priests of Wexford, and had drawn off the troops to assist in searching for arms in other counties, which were supposed less loyal than ill-fated Wexford. Yet Mr. O'Connell and his satellites deliberately charge Englishmen with fomenting the rebellion of 1798! But we have, in the records of Parlia-

ment, still stronger proofs, that notwithstanding the declamation about the liberty of the subject, and the abstract theorisms of republican freedom, broached by the French cyclopædists, and retailed second-hand by the Irish demagogues of the day, no efforts were spared to stem the coming storm. Mr. Plowden, the historian, in detailing the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, admits that so early as 1793, "every precautionable measure was taken by Lord Westmoreland to check the progress of rebellion."

The disasters of Britain, in her struggles against all Europe, instead of producing sympathy among Irishmen of the Romish faith, gave hopes to their slumbering projects. In 1795, the communications with the French Directory were assiduously carried on, and in 1796, the military organization of Ulster was reported as complete. In 1797, plans of general insurrection were drawn up, and the negotiations for foreign assistance arranged. In a memoir presented to the French minister at Hamburgh, in June 1797, by a convention of the United Irishmen, it was stated, that the "counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, King's County, and Dublin, were the best organized, and that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies propagated respecting French irreligion; that the priests were all well-affected to the cause, and with *discrete zeal* propagate the system of the United Irishmen." Lord Edward Fitz-

gerald, in a dispatch written by himself, stated the number of *armed* men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, to be 279,896, but that the treasure in hand was only £1,485.

To aid these internal traitors, the French Directory despatched in 1797, an immense armament for the separation of Ireland from England, and the creation of an Hibernian republic in an indivisible alliance with France. But Ireland and England were saved by the beneficent interposition of Providence, which in its mercy scattered over the ocean (as it had before done in the case of the Spanish Armada) *twenty-five* Gallic ships of the line, fifteen large frigates, many brigs and sloops of war, and transports for 25,000 men! Then were the eyes of the Government opened to the danger of the crisis, and the Irish opposition were compelled to permit the passing of the "*Gunpowder Bill*," by which only certain licensed persons were authorized to import gunpowder into Ireland. I ask Mr. O'Connell, did this vigorous act bear the semblance of encouraging rebellion for the purpose of carrying the Union?

But this was not the only step undertaken by the British Government, and forced from the Irish Parliament in spite of those factious persons who contended that Ireland was tranquil, while the slumbering volcano was ready to burst beneath their feet. The "*Convention Bill*" was passed, by which self-created conventions were authorized to

be dissolved, and the seizure of unregistered arms effected. This bill, Mr. O'Connell should know, was passed despite of the senseless cry of his predecessor agitators, whose shout was—" *Perish the Empire—live the Constitution!*" A survivorship which was more identified with the effusion of faction than the emanation of reason. By means however of this very bill, the Government arrested, or compelled to fly, several of the ablest of the united Irishmen, and instant steps were taken for the disarming of the people. General Lake was instructed to seize arms in Ulster, and "to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they might not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authorities, if the peace of the realm or the safety of his Majesty's faithful subjects should be endangered by waiting for such authority." Here again I may ask, did such a coercive measure look like fostering an incipient rebellion? There were in Ulster 99,400 united Irishmen; but by the indefatigable efforts of that celebrated warrior and statesman (General, afterwards created Lord Lake for his splendid achievements as well as diplomacy in India), upwards of *six thousand stand of arms*, and many thousand pikes and other formidable weapons, were seized, so that when the rebellion actually broke out in the subsequent year, not 10,000 out of 90,000 men could assemble armed.

But to return to the period previous to the re-

bellion. The Government, observing the good effects of disarming Ulster, determined also on the disarming of Leinster; and accordingly proclamations were issued, requiring a surrender of arms before a certain day. The proclamation was treated with contempt, and troops were marched into Leinster for the forcible seizure of the arms: did this look like conniving at rebellion and treason? The directors of the Irish Union subsequently acknowledged, that the efforts of the Government to disarm the people, marred all their projects; and that, although they were desirous of preventing the explosion until the arrival of another expected French force, yet that the eagerness of the people, and the fear that Government would succeed in disarming Leinster as effectually as it had done Ulster, compelled them to give the signal for rebellion, to commence simultaneously for all Leinster, on the night of the 23d May 1797.

I will draw a veil over that terrible period, and which it would be advisable for Mr. O'Connell to abstain from so frequently reverting to in his declamations, lest a true exposition of facts should reveal atrocities which are a disgrace to human nature, and which the bigotry of religion contributed so materially to engender;* suffice it to

* The rebel army in Leinster, in 1798, consisted of 50,000 men, among whom were twenty priests and one bishop, by whom the rites of the Catholic church were administered to the Protestants previous to their massacre. The Rev. Mr. Haydon, a Protestant clergyman in Wexford, was piked in the presence of his wife, and his body exposed

say, that never was there a more atrocious libel on the British character, than that which ascribes to Englishmen the fostering and instigation of a bloody rebellion,* in order to secure a legislative union between both countries.

The calumnious assertion is not only unsupported by a shadow of proof,† but directly negatived by hundreds of facts as strong, if not stronger, than those I have detailed; and the being who could conjure up such a charge for the purpose of blasting the memory of the dead and of reviling the living, or with a jesuitical principle making means subservient to the end, that end being personal aggrandizement, deserves the unutterable execration of every man who holds in estimation the unpurchaseable character of a nation, as well as of an individual.

After a terrible expenditure of blood and treasure,‡ the rebellion of 1798 was quelled; and men

exposed naked for *nine* days in the streets of Enniscorthy, because he refused to be baptized after the Roman Catholic manner. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

* “The rebellion of 1798 was fomented and encouraged by the British government, for the purpose of carrying the Union.”—*Mr. O’Connell’s Speeches, Dublin Journals, January 1833.*

† A variety of causes have been assigned by different authors and politicians, as the true origin of the rebellion of 1798. Mr. O’Driscoll, in his able work, says, it was owing to the spread of the principles of the French revolution: another says *tithes*, another *separation*, &c.

‡ The property destroyed was valued at nearly one million sterling; the loss of life on the side of the Crown was 20,000, and that of the rebels was computed at 50,000.

of reason, who loved their country, saw that after the *fifty-third* rebellion of hatred to England, by a party who sought separation at every hazard, the only chance left for the peace, freedom, and prosperity of Ireland was a legislative union with Great Britain; the project of 1782 was therefore revived, more particularly as the dispute between the two parliaments on the powers with which the Regent should be invested, demonstrated that there was no security to prevent disagreement of opinion on ulterior constitutional questions.

Such, indeed, was the feeling, even in the Irish parliament, on the subject of the Union, that when the question was first proposed, January 1799, *barely one-half* of the Irish Commoners were averse to it, after twenty-two hours' debate; and a large majority of the property and rank of the country, as represented in the Irish House of Lords, were in its favour;—nay, more, so far from the Union being hurried to a conclusion before reason had time to operate, the very reverse was the case, for we find Mr. Pitt making use of the following language, in his speech of the 31st January 1799 (nearly two years before the Union), in the British House of Commons:—

“ I wish that the question of the Union should be stated *distinctly*, *temperately*, and *fully*; that it should be left to the *unprejudiced*, the *dispassionate*, the *sober judgment* of the Irish parliament. I wish that those whose *interests* are *involved* in the measure should have *time* for its *consideration*; I wish that time should be given to the *landed*, to the *monied* interest, that they should look at it in *all its*

bearings—that they should coolly examine and sift the popular arguments by which it has been opposed—and that *then* they should give their final judgment.”—*January 31, 1799.*

Mr. Pitt's advice was taken; the question was well sifted and examined in the British as well as in the Irish parliament, and by a powerful and talented opposition in both legislatures; the one enlisting on their side national interests,* pride, jealousy, and prejudices; the other advocating the illusory doctrines of the French Revolutionists, or fearful lest the accession of Irish members in the British parliament would give too much power to the ministry. Reason, and a sound sense of mutual interests, prevailed on both sides of the channel, and the Legislature of Great Britain as well as of Ireland incorporated their separate powers, which (as Sir William Petty had long before truly observed), “*instead of uniting together, often crossed upon each other's trades, not only as if they were foreigners to each other, but sometimes as enemies.*” Mr. Grattan's resolution for an address to the King as a protest against the Union, was negatived by a majority of 135 to 77, on the 5th June 1800. The

* Among the evil effects which the Irish orators of the day declared would result from the Union, it was stated, that when the parliament was removed from Dublin, grass would be annually mown in Sackville-street, and snipes shot in College-green! Such was the language of men who, as lawyers, merchants, &c., dreaded being deprived of the means of obtaining seats in parliament, without being removed from the ordinary sphere of their proper avocations in Dublin.

long-desired object of Parliamentary Reform was, to a certain extent, gained by the disfranchising of a number of nomination boroughs, the possessors of which each received £15,000;* the revenue to be levied was fixed in the proportion of two to fifteen, in which ratio it was to remain twenty years, and after that period to be modified by the imperial parliament according to justice: Ireland was to send one hundred commoners to the imperial legislature, twenty peers to be elected for life, and four bishops, in rotation, to take their seats in the upper house. Thus ended what has been termed the Irish parliament, and which, the moment it arrogated to itself the powers of an independent legislature, imbibed the elements

* The same plan of paying the proprietors of nomination boroughs was proposed in the discussion of the late Reform Bill, and had it been effected, no one would have said that the Reform Bill had been carried by bribery and corruption; yet it is asserted that the Union was carried by bribery and corruption, because the disfranchised proprietors of the Irish boroughs received £15,000 each. This is not, surely, a fair charge to make against Mr. Pitt's government, as to corrupt means used in effecting the Union.

Mr. O'Connell, in his speech of the 3d of January 1833, says that Lord Castlereagh spent £2,000,000 in notorious and profligate bribery to carry the Union. Now the sum actually paid away to the proprietors of nomination boroughs disfranchised at the Union was £1,260,000, at the rate of £15,000 for each borough; and on the same principle, and at even a higher rate of payment, Mr. Pitt projected parliamentary reform in England. What he had, therefore, proposed for England, it would have been unjust to deny to Ireland, when nomination boroughs were destroyed there. Mr. O'Connell admits that when the measure was even first introduced into the Irish parliament, the proportions for and against it were 108 to 110.

of dissolution, or separation from England; for there being no connecting link between the two islands but the precarious prerogative of the crown, there was unavoidably a constant endeavour of the executive to maintain an authority over the legislature, *prevention* in Ireland being of necessity more desirable than opposition by the *veto*. The government had long been dependent on an oligarchy, who maintained an ascendancy at their own price in Irish affairs. "The Union," as a national historian justly observes, "broke the strength of the aristocracy; it effected that which it proposed, by untying the hands of government; it loosened its dependence upon a party, and restored to the state the privilege of good government." The influence of that party may be estimated by observing the power it has evinced, even since that period, in crushing the good Lord Fitzwilliam and the liberal Mr. Grant, as also the efforts which have been made to trip up the heels of the present government, by reason of its desire to rule Ireland, and stand neutral between contending disputants.† Ireland, in fact, for centuries possessed but two classes of society, the rich and the poor; there was no solid bond

* O'Driscoll's Ireland, p. 52.

† The present proceedings of Mr. O'Connell will compel the Government to side with that party who, as the noble Marquis of Anglesey expresses it, are only the enemies of the Government, while Mr. O'Connell's party are the enemies of the country.

between the crown and the people, and the feudalism which the religion of Luther in England, and of Calvin in Scotland, had tended so much to annihilate, flourished in most parts of Erin (as it still does in some places) in all its desolating vigour.

Commerce also, which so materially assists to break down the vassalage of a nation, was kept by bounties and protective duties in an unnatural state of depression and alternate excitement; and so far from considering that Ireland ceased to be a kingdom and became a degraded province by her legislative incorporation with Britain,* the reverse was actually the case; and the substantial liberties and prosperity of Irishmen may be truly dated from a period which Mr. O'Connell, in defiance of every fact asserts to be the commencement of slavery and poverty; while, in the same sentence, he most inconsistently declares that "the starless night of Irish national desolation has lasted 700 years."†

* Scotland was, in reality, more an independent kingdom than Ireland, but no Scotchman is so foolish as to think that his country became a province by its incorporation with England; in fact, neither Ireland nor Scotland became provinces of England by their legislative unions, in any degree more than England became a province of the incorporated countries. Before the French revolution, different provinces in France had provincial Parliaments, and as there is no evil without good, the destruction of these separate legislatures was a permanent blessing to France, by consolidating its energy and simplifying its laws.

† Freeman's Journal, 4th January 1833.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REPEAL OF THE UNION NOT WARRANTED ON THE GROUND OF ABSENTEEISM, AND THE FALLACY OF THE ARGUMENT AS TO IRELAND OBTAINING A DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE LIKE CANADA, SHEWN; ALLEGED CHARACTER OF THE IRISH RESIDENT GENTRY, AND THE POVERTY OF THE IRISH PEASANTRY NOT OWING TO THE UNION, DEMONSTRATED.

THE fallacious grounds on which the grand arguments for "Repeal" rested have been demonstrated in the preceding chapters, but the subsidiary advantages which it is asserted would result from the measure are scarcely less deserving of consideration, and among the most important is the hope held out that it would "bring back the absentees." Putting aside the disputed question as to absentee landlords being a great pecuniary drain on Ireland, let us enquire if absenteeism existed when the Irish Parliament was sitting; if so, there are no grounds for maintaining that the creation of another Irish Legislature would prevent the perpetuation of the alleged evil. A recent and patriotic Irish writer says—

"Absenteeism existed to a grievous extent even under the *resident* legislature of Ireland, notwithstanding all their exertions to destroy this *plaie politique la plus devorante*. There were legal enactments

against absenteeism from 1377 up to 1753 :* they all proved *inefficient*. In 1773, Mr. Flood made an attempt to revive the old laws, but failed. In 1783, a proposition to the same effect was supported by Mr. Grattan in vain. In 1797, Mr. Vandeleur made a motion with the same view, which proved abortive.”—*Bryan’s Practical View of Ireland*, p. 41.

Here we find an admission, that an Irish legislature could not check absenteeism for four centuries; what reason is there to suppose that it could now accomplish what before was found to be impracticable, unless the system now in course of execution in some parts of Ireland were made into a law, *viz.* not to pay any landlord his rent except in person; or unless Mr. O’Connell’s proposition of forcing a man who possessed an estate in England and Ireland to sell one or the other,† were carried into effect. Whether either of these despotic acts would be agreeable to the feelings of the majority is another question, and if the first proposition were made applicable to rent, it ought to be extended to every species of debts. The question as to an Irish Parliament effecting the return of absentees by political attractions or legislative decrees is thus justly disposed of by another able Irish writer in Dublin:—

“ If the parliament of Ireland resumed its sittings in Dublin, it

* In the reign of Richard II. there was a heavy tax imposed on proprietors who did not reside in Ireland.

† This was Napoleon’s reply to an Englishman claiming an estate in France; but it must be recollected France and England were at deadly variance with each other. Does Mr. O’Connell contemplate a similar state of hostilities between Ireland and England?

would not thereby compel the great absentees to settle on their Irish estates, as they have estates in Great Britain, are members of either houses of the British parliament, and are inseparably linked with British society. Neither would an Irish parliament withdraw from France, Switzerland, and Italy those numerous absentees of the high and middle classes, who now reside in those countries for the sake of climate, society, scenery, or arts, or to obtain a cheap subsistence for their families, or a cheap education for their children. The peers and commoners attending the Irish legislature would merely provide themselves with residences in Dublin, where they would remain during the sitting of parliament, and then return to their country seats in England, to London, or to the watering-places. This assertion is justified by an investigation of the present habits of the Irish gentry who have no parliamentary duties to perform in England, and who therefore sojourn in it, not because of the Legislative Union, but for the purpose of enjoying social recreation, which Ireland does not present. The Irish parliament might pass a law imposing a penal tax on absentees ; but that would not avail without the royal assent, which British influence would induce the king to withhold ; and then a struggle might ensue which would lead to the dismemberment of the empire." — *Stanley's Commentaries on Ireland, Dublin 1831, p. 80 and 81.*

But absenteeism is not carried to such a frightful extent as has been supposed ; the Dublin Almanack for 1831 thus exhibits the number of resident and non-resident peers, peeresses, and bishops ;—and the number of *non-residents* is now decreasing :

	Resident.	Employed out of the Country.	Absentees.
Dukes	1	0	0
Marquisses	11	0	3
Earls	44	2	27
Viscounts	18	6	19
Barons	32	1	36
Bishops	22	0	0
Peeresses	3	0	1
	131	9	86

Of the representative peers, only three out of twenty-eight are *non-resident*, and the majority of baronets and commoners are also residents.

The rent drawn by absentees is proved by Mr. Stanley as probably not exceeding £2,000,000, and if we take the total annual income of Ireland at £100,000,000, how can it be said that absenteeism is the grand cause of Irish misery; or that the re-establishment of a separate legislature in Dublin is a necessary step for procuring prosperity in Ireland, when the remittance to absentees in England in 1785 was £1,608,932, a sum equivalent to £3,000,000 of our present money. (Newenham).

It might be thought, that the resident gentry of Ireland were of so excellent a description, that it was therefore desirable to add to their numbers by procuring the return of absentees, and that this feeling was totally unconnected with any pecuniary considerations; that this is not the feeling, will be seen by the following description of the Irish resident gentry which I find before me, and which I have not ransacked pages to depict.

“The gentry, or middle class of Irishmen, are very different from the same class of Englishmen. They are, for the most part, improvident as heads of families, unsafe employers, and inert cultivators of the soil. To them is attributable much that Ireland endures. To their indifference are clearly ascribable the slovenly habits, and the ignorance of agriculture, prevailing *even among the peasantry, who have full employment for their industry, and might be comfortable, but do not know how to be so.* And to their harshness as landlords, their predilections as magistrates, their strong political feeling, and bigotted tendencies, are ascribable those dreadful outrages occasionally perpe-

trated by unthinking wretches who, in the madness of despair, combine in murderous and devastating associations. The gentry are inordinately addicted to extravagance, and internally heated by political feelings, the creation of passion, not of reason, which influences them in all their intercourse with society, and even governs their judgment in matters of faith, and when administering justice."—*Stanley*, p. 132.

"The Irish landlords, as a class, are needy, exacting, unremitting, harsh, and without sympathy for their tenantry."—*Bicheno*.

"Landlords in Ireland, amongst the lesser orders, extort exorbitant rents out of the bowels, sweat, and rags of the poor, and then turn them adrift; they are corrupt magistrates and jobbing grand-jurors, oppressing and plundering the miserable people."—*Bryan's View of Ireland*, 1832.

"The Irish country gentleman is, we are sorry to say, in general the most incorrigible being that infests the face of the globe. In the name of law, he tramples on justice; boasting superiority of Christian creed, he violates Christian charity, and is mischievous in the name of the Lord. Were the Irish government inclined to govern this country with good policy—which, bless its heart, it is not—the greatest impediment it would find would be in the arrogant, besotted, tyrannical, grasping, rack-renting, spendthrift, poor, proud, profligate, and ignorant country gentlemen (as they are miscalled) of Ireland."—*Dublin Pilot*, 2d January 1833.

This is a terrible description of the Irish resident gentry: whether it be true or not let the reader decide; but it is worthy of notice that the last-named testimony asserts, that these very *resident* gentry are the "greatest impediment to the Government, in governing the country with good policy." Thus, on the one hand, absenteeism is deplored as a moral evil; and, by the very same parties, the residents are cursed as something as bad or even worse than demons. The Rev. Mr. Maher, a Roman Catholic clergyman at Carlow,

describes as follows the conduct of the resident gentry of Ireland, but justly thinks Parliamentary Reform will cure the evil.

“ One of the greatest evils of Ireland is a want of sympathy between the higher and lower classes, and the disposition on the part of the landlords to treat land as a merchandize ; to recognize, in the relation between themselves and their tenantry, nothing more than between buyer and seller ; to regard land solely as a source of profit, and to look to the law, instead of personal and family influence, to exact rents. This is really the root of all our miseries. Parliamentary reform, which establishes the fact that the people can send whom they please to parliament, has shaken this vicious system, and laid the foundation of a better order of things.”—*Speech at Carlow Dinner, Rev. Mr. Maher, January 1833, Dublin Freeman's Journal.*

These numerous testimonies shew, that the pecuniary condition or moral state of the Irish is not ascribable to the absence of a few landed proprietors ; neither are the disturbances of “ White Feet ” in the several counties owing to the same oft lamented national malady, as is demonstrated by the following statement.

“ The county of all others in Ireland selected by the late parliament as the one most disorganized and most loudly calling for a commission of inquiry, was the Queen's County—a county chiefly in the hands of resident landlords, some in the possession of large estates, but the majority holding just sufficient to entitle them to seats on petty session benches, or the profitable privilege of being grand jurors : they are, one and all, pitted against the peasantry, as the slave-driver is against the colonial slave-gangs.”—*Dublin Express, January 3d 1833.*

If to all this (and much more testimony on the subject might be given) we add the undoubted fact, that the estates of Irish absentees are among

the best, if not the very best-managed estates in Ireland, it must be admitted that the cry for repealing the Union, in order to “bring back the absentees,” is one of those popular clap-traps, by which a demagogue of any standing or tact knows how to avail himself. But far more erroneous than the preceding argument for repealing the Union, is the assertion of Mr. O’Connell, that because Jamaica or Canada, with some thousands of inhabitants, possess a domestic legislature, Ireland, with 8,000,000 inhabitants, is entitled to the same. The learned gentleman will permit me to inform him, that in making use of this lever for inciting the passions of the people, he betrays far more cunning than wisdom. Jamaica and Canada are essentially provinces of the British empire; they send no representatives to the Imperial Parliament. Ireland, on the contrary, is not a province; she sends 105 representatives to the Imperial Parliament, and she is an integral part of the empire, as much so as England or Scotland is; and to give her a colonial assembly like that of Canada or Jamaica, would be in reality to reverse Mr. O’Connell’s favourite expression, and reduce her from a nation to a province.* The same reply

* The following is the argument of Mr. O’Connell, on the 2d January 1833, when forming the Irish Volunteers:—“The right of domestic legislation has been conceded to the principal British colonies. They have established a parliament in Lower Canada; they have established a parliament in Upper Canada—in Prince Edward’s Island—in Nova Scotia—in Jamaica—and in the principal West-India islands.

will suffice for Mr. O'Connell's oft-cited example of North America having established an independent legislature, despite of Great Britain. When the learned gentleman makes these and similar unfair parallels, he ought to recollect historical facts which every school-boy is conversant with ; namely, that America established her separate legislature, because she was refused permission to send representatives to the British Parliament, and her people denied the right to be taxed, without being represented ; but Ireland has more representatives in the British Parliament, in proportion to her taxation and wealth, than either England or Scotland. A casuist so wary as Mr. O'Connell leaves no point untouched, nor omits any assertion, however remote from truth, that he thinks will bear out his argument ; I am therefore, in support of my position, necessitated to examine each of his statements, however apparently trifling or minute. In his inflammatory speech (3d January 1833), the learned gentleman gave utterance to what he termed " facts," but which were, in every instance, shamefully at variance with truth, as the preceding statistical and historical details prove. In that speech Mr. O'Connell tells his auditors, that " whilst England, since the Union, has rapidly gone forward, Ireland

islands, Newfoundland has a local legislature, and there is a local parliament in progress of formation in New South Wales."—*Dublin Freeman's Journal*, 4th January 1833.

has as rapidly gone back." I need only refer to the striking documents which the 2d chapter contains, to ascertain whether there be a shadow of truth in the allegation, that Ireland has rapidly gone back since the Union; and, unfortunately for Englishmen, Mr. O'Connell, will fail to persuade them that their condition has been improved since 1800.

The author of "Commentaries on Ireland" admits that the "British population is in a much worse condition now than formerly (p. 72). There are, indeed, such melancholy proofs of the veracity of this statement, that no one but a man who was reckless of every thing but the gaining of a temporary advantage would have the barefacedness to deny it; and as to the condition of the Scotch peasantry, I refer to the following harrowing details, which exhibit a state of misery scarcely, if indeed paralleled, in the poorest part and in the worst season in Connaught.

"It would puzzle any man, even those who are intimate with the condition and habits of the *Highland peasantry*, to say in what manner a great proportion of them subsist. When the potatoe fails from mildew or frost, the unhappy natives are reduced to the extremity of want; the luxury of butchers' meat is so rare as not to deserve classification in this place:—The state of the Scotch islanders is such that should a fish be found mangled by gulls, or even in the incipient stage of putrefaction, it is joyfully seized upon; sea-weed and shell-fish are eaten by them; and at a moderate estimate one-sixth of their food consists of these miserable scrapings."—*Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, No. 7, for 1829.

"So great is the emigration from the Highlands this season (June

1831), that the passengers are forced to go to England and Ireland to procure conveyances to transport them across the Atlantic.

“ There are one or two districts in the Highlands that already present a gloomy and desolate appearance ; and ere the emigration season is over, it is calculated that in many cases tracts of land, *ten miles in extent, will be tenantless !* The system of RACK-RENTING has been carried to such an extent by the Highland Lairds, that their tenants, that hardy race of men, are reluctantly compelled to expatriate themselves from the land of their fathers. Young persons go to provide a home for their parents, or parents go to join their families who are settled in America, but by far the greater part go upon chance, declaring that they can be no worse.”—*Glasgow Chronicle*, June 1831.

“ In a great proportion of Scotland, where the poor laws are not carried into effect, miseries similar to those which pervade Ireland exist. All the Highlands are in this state.”—*Nimmo : Lord's Evidence*, 1824.

“ Many of the Scotch poor are so neglected by landlords and their men of business, as to be driven out into other parts of the kingdom as common beggars. Swarms of common beggars from all quarters infest the northern country, and raise contributions far exceeding what would support the district poor.”—*Brewster's Encyclopædia*, 1830.

Reasoning on the foregoing appalling state of things, the Scotch would have as much right to require a repeal of their Union, as Mr. O'Connell has for Ireland; but, in fact, the Irish peasantry are in the aggregate better off than their brethren in England or Scotland; certainly in a more comfortable condition than they were before the Union, when, although the gentry lived well, drank to excess, and rioted in waste, the people pined in wretchedness; in confirmation of which, I will only detain the reader with one quotation from a parliamentary speech of the Irish Attorney-general in 1786:

"I am well acquainted with Munster, and it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry. The people are ground to powder by relentless landlords."

I now come to consider another part of Mr. O'Connell's present proceedings, and which I hesitate not to say, demand the attention of the government; it is the strenuous efforts which he is making to induce Irishmen to consider Englishmen and Scotchmen as their most deadly enemies, as hostilely averse to their liberties, and jealous of their prosperity. This is a theme harped on by the learned orator in every speech which he sends forth on the wings of the press throughout Ireland. Not only are historical data falsified, but the most trivial circumstances are caught up for fanning the flame of hostilities between both countries; for instance, those persons who are opposed to the question of repeal, and who happen not to be blessed with Irish names, are denounced as enemies of Ireland, and marked out for the vengeance of a blind and ferocious multitude, by the significant expression that their very names are those of "foreigners."* In the speech of the 3d January last, before referred to, Mr. O'Connell, in his endeavours to instil into his deluded followers an implacable hatred to England, told them, that Englishmen have, ever since their landing in Ireland, "practised on them every species of injus-

* The writer heard Mr. O'Connell thus denounce his opponents at a public meeting this year.

tice.”* In proof of this statement he detailed a case, in 1608, when an Englishman was fined 13s. 4d. for killing an Irishman, and that only because the deceased was *Hibernicus Domini Regis*, i. e. an Irishman belonging to the King, and not *Merus Hibernicus*, meaning a mere Irishman, “so that,” says Mr. O’Connell, “it was an expensive affair to kill an Irishman!” Mr. O’Connell well knew the effect this story would have. The very next day after it was told, his organs, whether of the press or otherwise, retailed it in every possible shape, and before twenty-four hours had elapsed, it was currently affirmed and believed by thousands, even in the city of Dublin, (what must it have been in the country?) that “a very short period had elapsed since an Englishman was authorized to shoot an Irishman as he would a deer or a fox!”

I now publicly challenge Mr. O’Connell with wilfully concealing the true state of the case for the purpose of exciting hostility. The learned gentleman boasts of the knowledge which he possesses of the history of his country: he cannot therefore be ignorant that by the Brehon Institutes, or ancient Irish laws, murder was punishable by a

* I would wish to recal to Mr. O’Connell’s recollection one instance, out of many, in which the generosity of Englishmen towards our countrymen was shewn; and that was but lately, when their purse-strings were loosed, and £300,000 freely and promptly subscribed for the aid of famishing Irishmen. Does the learned gentleman also forget that thousands of liberal Protestant Englishmen (among whom were the present Ministry) laboured to obtain for him a seat in Parliament?

fine, denominated the *eirick*, and levied according to the rank of the individual slain.

These Brehon Institutes extended over all the Irish beyond the "pale" or circle of English government, and the feudal chieftains and their vassals long boasted that they were situate "bye west the law," namely, beyond the river Barrow, or about thirty miles from Dublin.*

I cannot, however, give a better illustration of the real state of the case than by citing the following historical document. Trial by jury, and the appointment of sheriffs over counties, was introduced into Ireland by Elizabeth, and much opposed by the Irish chieftains and their dependants beyond the "pale." In conformity with the desire of Queen Elizabeth to extend the principles of English liberty to Ireland, her Deputy, Fitzwilliam, in the 39th year of her reign, announced to the chieftain of Fermanagh (Maguire) the intention of sending a sheriff into his county; the reply of Maguire will demonstrate what credit is due to Mr. O'Connell: "Your sheriff shall be welcome," said Maguire; "but let me know his *eirick*, that if my people cut off his head, I may levy the expense upon the county."†

It would be unnecessary to comment upon the

* The case alluded to by Mr. O'Connell, namely, that of Thompson *alias* O'Hara Driscoll, occurred, he admits, beyond the "pale," when the English judges were going circuit.

† Sir John Davis's Irish History, written in 1613, p. 259.

foregoing case; yet it is only one instance out of numerous other equally fallacious “facts” (as Mr. O’Connell is pleased to call them), by which the learned gentleman earnestly strives to foment strife between Englishmen and Irishmen; let me therefore request the attention of Mr. O’Connell, and His Majesty’s law officers, to the concluding passage of the annexed unrepealed act of the Irish Parliament:

“ 10th Henry VII., chap. xiii.—Inasmuch as diverse persons have assembled with banners displayed against the lieutenant and deputy of Ireland, supposing that it was not treason so to do, and many times the deputy hath bin put to reproch, and the commonweal set in adventure; therefore be it ordained and enacted by this present parliament, that whatsoever person or persons, from this day forward, cause assemble, or insurrection, conspiracies, or in anywise procure or stirre Irishry or Englishry to make warre against our Sovereign Lord the King’s authority—that is to say, his lieutenant or deputy, or justice, *or else in any manner procure or stir the Irishry to make warre upon the Englishry, be deemed traytor atteynte of high treason*, in likewise as such assemble an insurrection had been levied against the King’s own person.”—*Dublin Library Copy of Irish Statutes.*

There can be no doubt in the mind of any man who looks beyond the circle of passing events, that the design of Mr. O’Connell is “to stir up the Irishry to make warre upon the Englishry;”^{*} whether he will much longer be permitted to continue in his perilous course, will, I trust, soon be determined upon. When the learned gentleman

^{*} For a further exposition of the penalties attendant on this conduct, *vide* Irish Statutes, sec. ii. p. 176.

protests against the confiscations of Irishmen's lands by Englishmen, he forgets that there have been fifty rebellions of hatred to England,—that O'Neal was restored to favour five times by his acknowledged sovereign, against whom he had rebelled;* and Elizabeth not only received him with distinction at her court, and created him earl of Tyrone, but so pressed her deputies to be lenient towards him, that he was enabled to prosecute, almost with final success, his grand rebellion. Yet even after that terrible contest, which cost Elizabeth £2,000,000, James I. restored Tyrone to his lands and honours; when he again rebelled, and fearing that he could not again receive forgiveness, he fled to Rome or Spain, and there died, when his lands became escheated to the crown. Did this conduct look like tyranny in the English Government? And let it be remembered that the rebellions of Tyrone, as well as subsequent insurrections, had not their origin in resistance to tyranny, but in a vehement desire to expel the followers of Martin Luther from Ireland. Tyrone avows this in various parts of his manifesto; in one passage he says: “let us join all together to deliver the countrie from the infection of heresy, and for the planting

* In 1607, Tyrone, Tyrconnell, Maguire, O'Cahan, &c. conspired to surprise the castle of Dublin, murder the active officers of state, secure the principal garrisons, and call in foreign aid. Foreign aid was the plan of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in 1798, of Emmett in 1804, and of every rebel who sought the destruction of the British sway in Ireland.

of the Roman Catholic religion; if I had gotten to be *King of Ireland*, I should not accept the same without the extension of the Catholic religion." The rebellion of 1641 was a rebellion of hostility to England and to the Protestant faith. Cromwell, on its suppression, confiscated the lands of the rebels, and gave them to those who assisted in the suppression and conquest of the most sanguinary bigots that ever lived; and when the monarchy was restored, the crown resigned all claim to the forfeited lands. But on James the Second's arrival in Dublin he assembled a Catholic parliament,* 7th May 1689, the first act of which was to *justify* the rebellion, or rather appalling massacre of the Protestants in 1641 (a massacre which has no parallel in the annals of *Christian* bigotry but that of St. Bartholomew's); the Act of Settlement was repealed; the estates of all persons in England, Scotland, or Ireland, who would not acknowledge the regal authority of James, were confiscated; an act of attainder was passed, by which 2461 persons of rank (and both sexes) were attainted by name; the property of absentees was seized, as was also that of Trinity College; any person corresponding with another who had not acknowledged James, had his lands, &c. confiscated; to ascertain which, all letters in the post-office were previously opened; and to such a height was the rigour against Pro-

* There were twelve Protestants only in both houses, *viz.* five lords, three bishops, and four commoners.

testants carried, that they were not permitted to meet in greater numbers than two at a time!

Mr. O'Connell must be aware of all this and much more; nay, he is not ignorant that a regular list of the ancient proprietors of confiscated lands is kept in Maynooth College,* and that at the rebellion of 1798 an equitable division of these very lands was promised to their followers by the leaders of the rebellion in 1798; moreover, the following proclamation by the enemies of England, at a more recent period, shews the feeling which still exists, and which Mr. O'Connell is now endeavouring to revive in all its anarchical force: †—"We acknowledge that there does now exist amongst the people throughout this country a determination to possess themselves of, and to transfer to their posterity their ancient rights and properties, which the abominable scum of England have from time to time plundered them of; namely, their estates, lands, and church livings, and which are now applied to heretical purposes." ‡ These proceedings are not alluded to from any sectarian feeling, but because the writer is thoroughly convinced that similar motives to those which have ever actuated the bitter enemies of English

* It was formerly kept in Cook-street Chapel, Dublin.

† In the speech of the 3d January 1830, M. O'Connell declared his desire to appropriate the "absentee rents" towards the liquidation of the national debt.

‡ This proclamation was affixed to the door of St. Werburgh's Church in open day.

sway in Ireland, pervades the breast of him who now aims at what he terms the independence of Ireland, and an expulsion of the "*Sassenagh*," or Saxon. (Sassenagh meaning, indifferently, Englishman or Protestant).

When Mr. O'Connell informs a Dublin mob that a British parliament, or a British government, will never do justice to Ireland, he asserts what is beyond his power to predict, and which he is not even borne out in by a reference to the past. Ireland obtained from a British Government and British Parliament what she never would have obtained from a local legislature but by wading through a bloody revolution—namely, Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform; and as the learned gentleman so frequently exclaims that the greatest liberties obtained by a nation were never equivalent to the expenditure of a single drop of blood (while with his usual inconsistency he lauds the Americans for obtaining their independence, although purchased with much blood),* he will not surely deny that the Union has

* The same real or pretended horror of shedding blood has marked the early career of every leader of a rebellion in Ireland. No man more strongly deprecated assassination than the unfortunate and mistaken Emmett, or the equally amiable Lord Edward Fitzgerald; but were their admonitions or letters attended to? I have just met with rather a curious document, which confirms the opinion, that when the wild and revengeful passions of men are once loosed, it is beyond the power of their leaders to restrain them. This document I copied a few days ago from an original letter in the records of Dublin Castle; it is from one of the leaders of the Irish rebellion in 1641, and

been productive of increased liberty to himself and millions of his countrymen.

Mr. O'Connell complains of the heavy taxation of Ireland by the imperial legislature, and urges that as an argument for the Repeal of the Union; but the "fact" is directly the reverse, for Ireland is *less* heavily taxed than either England or Scotland. In 1829 (the latest year at hand), the proportions of revenue which each contributed to the exigencies of the state were as follows:—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
Revenue.....	£45,960,921 ..	£4,605,869 ..	£4,383,925

Thus Ireland, with a population more than one-half that of England and Wales, did not contribute

and was written on the second day after the breaking out of that sanguinary insurrection:—

"DEAR FRIENDS: My love to you all, although you think as yet otherwise. True it is, I have broken Sir Edward Trevor's letter, fearing that any thing should be written against us. We are for our lives and liberties, as you may understand. We desire *no blood to be shed*; but if you mean to shed our blood, be sure we will be as ready as you for the purpose. This being in haste, I rest your assured friend, as I am still,

"CONNAR MAGNEISE."

(Now called MAGENNIS).

"To my loving and worthy friends, Captain Vaughan, Marcus Trevor, and all other commanders in Down." "Newry, 25th October 1641."

Here we find the same cry as Mr. O'Connell is now raising of shedding no blood (while threatening *we* are 8,000,000), at the very moment when thousands of innocent women and children were being butchered in the most savage manner that demons could invent, or devils execute.

one-eleventh of the taxes of the empire ; and Scotland, with a population nearly one-fourth less than Ireland, contributed a greater quota to the support of Government. This disproportion between Scotland and Ireland in the shape of revenue is not owing to the former country deriving any undue advantages over the latter ; in fact, Scotland labours under a taxation on industry, and has an annual drain of capital far greater than Ireland. This is so clearly shewn in a valuable little work published in Dublin lately, that I am tempted to quote it :—

“ The credited taxes in Scotland, in 1829, amounted to £220,000 more than those of Ireland ; and she paid uncredited tea duties, &c. like Ireland, and contributed through her absentees, like Ireland. Besides, she is liable to assessed taxes, from which Ireland is exempt. These, in 1829, amounted to £291,635. She is also liable to soap and candle taxes, unknown to Ireland ; and her rates of stamp duties are much higher than the Irish rates : in some instances they are double, in many treble the amount of Irish rates. On a newspaper she pays 4*d.* ; Ireland, 2*d.*—on an advertisement, 3*s.* 6*d.* (without an exemption for charities) ; Ireland, 2*s.* 6*d.*, with an exemption for charities. Her deed duties are double—her probate duties are in no instance less than double, and in some instances treble those of Ireland—her legacy duties are double ; and a tenth of all her charitable bequests goes to the exchequer, while in Ireland such bequests are untaxed. She is also liable to a tax on persons travelling by the stage coaches, and a mile tax on posting, neither of which is payable in Ireland.

“ Some of the Scotch excise revenue is, no doubt, paid by both England and Ireland, with as much of her custom duties as are paid on the sugar which she refines and exports to them. But suppose these to be, for both countries, half a million, look at the amount of revenue that still remains, *and bear in mind that it is raised by a population less than a third of the population of Ireland.*

“ There is another circumstance connected with the Scotch revenue

which renders her position far more unfavourable than that of Ireland more than three-fourths of her revenue are remitted to London. By returns relating to the remittance of revenue, which were presented to Parliament in 1830, it appears that Scotland's revenue charges of management, and charges of civil government, &c. were, in 1829, less than a million ; and after making this deduction, *she remitted more than three millions and a half to the British Exchequer.* Here is a drain of capital nearly as great as the drain from Ireland by absentees, emigrants, insurance agents, and money dealers. And Scotland has, besides, her absentees and emigrants, and her dealers in the English funds, as well as Ireland."—*Facts on Ireland. Millikew, Dublin.*

The greater part of the revenue raised in Ireland is spent in Ireland ; but Scotland contributes annually more than three and-a-half million sterling in revenue alone to the British exchequer !

In regard to reduction of taxation, Ireland has received since the close of the war a greater remission than England or Scotland ; and these circumstances, together with the vast quantity of time occupied in the transaction of purely Irish affairs, prove that this argument for repealing the Union is as little based on justice as any of the foregoing.*

With respect to the agreement at the Union being broken, and the Irish debt augmented, Messrs. O'Connell and Staunton will permit me to

* The grants of money made by the Irish and imperial parliaments are also in favour of the liberality and munificence of the latter :

The average of grants by the Irish parliament for	£
six years previous to the Union, were.....	79,314
Ditto by the imperial parliament for four years	
previous to 1817	369,864

ask them, whether England and Scotland were to pay the whole expenses of the war waged, not for ambition even, but for self-preservation ; and whether, since the close of that war, as well as since 1800, Ireland was to contribute nothing to the naval, consular, regal, diplomatic, and various other necessary charges of the empire ?

There are but two more arguments, or rather assertions, of Mr. O'Connell that require refutation. The first is, that by repealing the Union, the Irish would be enabled to keep their poor at home instead of allowing them to emigrate to England ; but this argument is based on the supposition that Ireland prospered from 1782 to 1800, and since declined, which has been proved to be incorrect. By the establishment of poor laws in Ireland, those who create poor will be obliged to support them, and the expense of transmission will fall on those who should pay it. But there is another point of view in which the question of migrations from Ireland to England must be considered, and it appears that that evil, if it be one, in reality has existed for centuries, and was not caused by the Union. Newenham, in his valuable work on the population of Ireland in 1805, calculated that the migrations from Ireland to England during three-fourths of the eighteenth century were annually to the extent of 3,000 souls, or altogether 200,000 ; while Dr. Brakenridge and Sir James Stuart affirmed that population would decrease in England were it

not constantly recruited from Ireland and Scotland ; and Dr. Price, at the close of the last century, shewed that London required an annual supply of population (to compensate for the waste of life) to the extent of 10,000 persons, a supply which must now be in much greater demand. There is also a physical circumstance connected with the subject deserving of notice. When animals, the horse for instance, are long confined within a certain breeding circle, they deteriorate rapidly ; the same feature is observable in royal families, such as that of Austria ; and the principle being founded on an immutable law of nature, is equally applicable to an insular community, its effects being felt after a greater lapse of time, and on a more extended scale. The inhabitants of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, are essentially a different people, but when their varying qualities are blended together, as in an army, they form the finest assemblage of the human race. Matrimony, and interchanges of habitation, combine in an individual the qualifications of each of the insular races, and a corporeal and mental energy is preserved, not merely beneficial to the single human being, but of incalculable importance in the scale of national renovation and regeneration.

I must, however, bring to a conclusion a chapter which I could not possibly compress, by examining the validity of the last argument of Mr. O'Connell's which presents itself to my remembrance ;

it is, that Lord Plunket, the Chancellor of Ireland, the Chief Justice of Ireland, Kendal Bushe, and many other individuals, were, in 1800, averse to the legislative Union between England and Ireland.

Some of the individuals so frequently summoned in the imagination of Mr. O'Connell to stand forth for examination in his jury-box, are men who, in the chivalrous morning of youth, allowed their feelings to lead captive their judgments, and who now see with the eyes of experience the political future, which is so seldom witnessed until age has chilled, or moderated, the more fiery and less-reflective temperament of by-gone days. Others agree with Mr. Grattan, that the Union once finally settled, should not be disturbed; and many more are now ready to admit that a federal connection could not be permanent, an opinion which is strengthened by the recent proceedings in the United States. But Mr. O'Connell throws overboard all these natural suggestions, and directly charges those who were once hostile to the Union, and are now in favour of its continuance, with a dereliction of principle for the sake of pelf and power. But in this, as in many other instances, Mr. O'Connell overshoots his mark; for the learned gentleman forgets that the opinions of apostates to a cause, particularly when that apostacy is occasioned, as he alleges, by self-interest, are of little or no value to the party with whom they may side,

their characters being generally classed with those of fools or knaves; whether Mr. O'Connell (according to his own mode of reasoning as to the defection of the former opponents of the Union) would choose either of these denominations for his allies, I leave the learned gentleman to decide; and having, as I trust, unequivocally, and as briefly as time and circumstances would permit, demonstrated the utter groundlessness of the arguments* adduced in support of the "Repeal of the Union," I proceed to offer a few constitutional observations on a topic pregnant with such vital consequences to the weal of Britain,—of Europe,—of the World.

* There is one more "argument" which I had omitted, but which scarcely deserves notice; it is the distance which Mr. O'Connell has to travel from Dublin to London. If the learned gentleman were member for a Scotch burgh or Welsh county, he would have a greater distance to travel than he now has; *ergo*, the Scotch and the Welsh, and indeed even the Yorkshiremen, should have each a separate Parliament. On the formation of a rail-road connecting Liverpool with London, the time occupied now in travelling from Dublin to London (thirty-four hours) will be reduced to half.

CHAPTER V.

THE REPEAL OF THE UNION IN A CONSTITUTIONAL POINT OF VIEW.—MR. O'CONNELL'S PROJECT OF A SEPARATE LEGISLATURE AT VARIANCE WITH HIS FORMER IDEA OF A DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE.—NECESSITY FOR THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT PUTTING DOWN IMMEDIATELY ALL POLITICAL SOCIETIES IN IRELAND, AND OF PASSING AN ACT, DECLARING EVERY PERSON ATTEMPTING TO REPEAL THE UNION GUILTY OF HIGH TREASON.

THE question of "Repeal" has heretofore been considered in a commercial or general point of view, and the fallacious grounds and unjust analogies on which it has been supposed to rest, completely proven. Such a proceeding was the more requisite, in order to demonstrate that in a less-extended, as well as in a constitutional investigation of the subject, neither private nor local circumstances are at variance with the most advantageous combination of individual interests and general weal. State necessity, (an obligation as imperative on nations as self-preservation is on solitary man), forbids in the most impressive manner a repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and which the whole voice of the latter country (were it possible to be unanimous on such a topic) is of no avail in

severing without the consent of the three estates of the empire,—nay, more, I hesitate not to assert, that the British monarch who would put his sign manual to the act of Repeal, would from that moment have forfeited his right* to the throne of the United Kingdom; and the minister who would consent to the act, would deserve instant impeachment and its attendant punishment.

“*The Union*,” as General Jackson, in his recent admirable and unanswerable address to the deluded and factious citizens of South Carolina, says “*was formed for the benefit of all parties. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests and opinions. Can those sacrifices be recalled?*”

The argument as to the dissolving the Union, whether as relates to South Carolina or to Ireland, is yet stronger put by the Republican general in the following passage, every line of which is adapted to the subject before us:—

“Because the Union was formed by compact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart

* I use the word “*right*,” for the monarch of the United Kingdom has as good a title to his throne, as any gentleman has to an estate, or any man to an inheritance of which he is the heir at law. It is a great mistake to suppose that the two Houses of Parliament can abolish the kingly office; they have not the slightest right to do so, and they can only place another successor on the throne when the reigning sovereign has violated the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and thus, by his own deed, abdicated the throne. An Irish Roman Catholic Parliament, with Mr. O’Connell at its head, would not be slow in proving that the King had abdicated his station.

from it, but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or binding obligation. It may, by its terms, have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt; if it have a sanction, then the breach incurs the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations, generally, has no sanction other than a moral one; or, if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior, it cannot be enforced. A government, on the contrary, always has a sanction, express or implied; and in our case it is both necessarily implied and expressly given. An attempt by force of arms to destroy a government is an offence, by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed; and such government has the right, by the law of self-defence, to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless that right is modified, restrained, or resumed, by the constitutional act. In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant provision has been made for punishing acts which obstruct the due administration of the laws."

The truth of this logic cannot be denied, and the manner in which it is avoided by the Irish Journalists in Mr. O'Connell's favour, is by contending that Mr. O'Connell is merely seeking a "*domestic* Legislature," similar to that which Carolina already possesses. Blind and shallow must be the politician who can be imposed on by so flimsy a pretext for the dissolution of the empire. Why, the very language of the learned Agitator himself contradicts that which his satellites proclaim to be his opinion; his emphatical declaration is that he desires to see "Ireland a kingdom * again, and no longer a province;" and that

* The word *nation* is substituted occasionally for kingdom, according to the nature of the audience addressed.

“*the claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance!*” * Does this language convey the idea of a desire for a mere local assembly? Is the erection of Ireland into an “independent kingdom, or nation,” consistent with the idea of a DOMESTIC Legislative Assembly for internal purposes? 'Tis true that Mr. O'Connell two years ago merely advocated the latter proposition, but it was only to familiarise his hearers to the ulterior object now avowed—namely, a Legislature *totally independent* of Great Britain, and having Ireland and England connected by no other link than that of the crown,—a link which, at the first feasible opportunity, might be snapt asunder, without present convulsion.†

* Vide *Freeman's Journal*, 4th January 1833. At the Meeting of the Volunteers, which this number of the *Freeman's Journal* reports, Mr. O'Connell made this declaration, namely, “*That the claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.*” This seditious and treasonable language was answered by the shouts of his followers, exclaiming, “So say we, all of us;” to which Mr. O'Connell replied, “*Yes, I am glad that we all concur.*” Whether this is language the British Government ought to pass over, I leave to the public to decide; in the humble opinion of the writer, while the Union does exist, it is “illegal and unconstitutional.”

† It is indeed difficult to get at Mr. O'Connell's precise ideas, even at the present moment. Thus, within a few days of each other, he expresses two distinct ideas, namely, an *independent* legislature for Ireland, and a *domestic* one :—

The idea, therefore, that there is no parallel between the case of South Carolina and Ireland, as asserted by the Irish journals, is absurd, for it is thrown overboard by Mr. O'Connell's own declaration; and although the learned gentleman asserts that he places "no faith in good intentions," this much faith may be placed in his own intentions, that he desires to have a parliament in Ireland, equal in every respect to England, free to keep peace when Britain may find it necessary to make war, and *vice versa*; any other sort of a parliament would, Mr. O'Connell well knows, be a burlesque on his project of Ireland possessing in herself the sole powers of self-legislation.

"Ireland must be a nation again, and no longer a province; the claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is illegal, unconstitutional and a grievance."—*Dublin Freeman's Journal*, 4th January 1833.

"The principle of *domestic* legislation has been extended to every place which England has colonized; I was looking for Catholic emancipation as the first step necessary to be taken for the establishment of a domestic legislature."—*Dublin Morning Register*, 14th January 1833.

I have, in a former chapter, shewn that it is precisely because Canada, Jamaica, &c. are provinces, and have *no representatives in the Imperial Parliament*, that they possess local assemblies: but those local assemblies are bound by the decrees of the King, Lords, and Commons at home; if not, they would not be domestic legislatures, they would be independent. A domestic legislature is bound by the commercial regulations of the parent Government; it has no voice in questions of general policy, or the executive functions of Government. Mr. O'Connell's real desire is a legislature totally independent of England, and which while he lived would be dependent on himself alone.

Mr. O'Connell was well aware that if he had openly expressed his real sentiments at first, many thousands would have shrunk from him, and accordingly his prospective designs were concealed.*

* Mr. O'Connell solemnly declared at a public meeting in Dublin ("the Volunteers"), that when struggling for Catholic emancipation, the grand object he had in view was a 'repeal of the Union;' he took care however not to avow it. The grand object he has secretly in view in struggling to repeal the Union may be readily seen by the following extract from his speech, 2d January 1833, in which however the learned gentleman forgets, in his praise of Athens, that more than two-thirds of the population were slaves. Throughout this speech the avowed object of Mr. O'Connell is "a free and independent legislature for Ireland."—"We are too wise to commit a crime. We are too strong to continue in a state of thralldom. We must cease to be a province, and become a nation again (loud and enthusiastic cheering.) That was the principle that guided the Volunteers of '82. The country was at that time left denuded of troops. The ministry of George the Third were engaged in an unlucky, or I ought rather to say, in a fortunate and lucky contest with the American colonies—a contest which ended in establishing the republic of America; a republic whose greatness will last for centuries, and which has already proved, as, indeed, the experience of all history demonstrates, the superiority of the democratic principle in producing the superior happiness of a community—improving every art and science—giving better protection to life and property—developing internal resources—encouraging genius and sustaining enterprize, and making a country great, prosperous, and powerful (cheers). I will not affect to give way to any indulgence of school-boy recollections; but who can dispute the fact, that the little state of Athens, not larger than Yorkshire, because of its democratic institutions, increased in power, glory, commerce, and wealth, to such a pitch, that the world and all succeeding time are filled with the story of Athens, whilst the great monarchies by which she was surrounded have passed away, and left no trace behind, unless in the recollection of some stupendous barbarism, which is remembered as you recollect the flood or the tempest which has extensively ravaged and desolated (loud cheers). I was saying, that at the period of '82, Ireland was left destitute of troops. She was left to her own protection,

The manner in which a great part of the Irish people have been led on, step by step, to the precipice on which they are now placed, is thus eloquently and truly described by President Jackson, when warning the South Carolinians against delusions exactly similar to those practised by the Irish demagogue:—

“Let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deluded themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason, on which you stand! First, a diminution of the value of your staple commodity, lowered by over-production in other quarters, and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the tariff laws. The effects of those laws are confessedly injurious; but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe—that its burthens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion, that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably—might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the Union, and bear none of its burthens.

“Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your state pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of disunion should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complacency on objects which, not long since, you would have regarded with horror. Look back at the arts which have brought you to this state—look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead!”

tion, though at the time threatened with an invasion from France. The gentry and the people armed themselves, and when they found their strength, they first demanded and procured for Ireland free trade, and they next demanded, and succeeded in the demand, of having for Ireland a free and independent parliament.

Mr. O'Connell, indeed, has not yet gone the length of Governor Hayne, in declaring his determination to resist by force any attempt to preserve the Union; but he has taken the preliminary steps, and declared, on the 2d June last, that he would "repeal the Union in spite of the British public, whether the Saxons liked it or not!"* On the 9th January Mr. O'Connell thus speaks—

"The volunteers are at present unarmed; but let no man tell me that the period will not shortly arrive when we shall not be unarmed. (*Loud cries of hear, hear, hear!*) There is no liberty if every man is not allowed to carry his own arms. Every householder should have his own arms; and I hope we will see the day when the volunteers will wear uniform at their own expense. (*Hear, hear!*) We shall take the place of the National Guard of other countries; and look to their doing *at present* efficiently without arms; and I hope that every village in Ireland will have eighteen, twenty—aye, fifty volunteers.† (*Hear, hear!*) It may be asked, Do I intend to have the

* This was uttered at the Corn Exchange, 3d January 1833, when forming the volunteers, but the words were suppressed by the reporters.

† At one of these *peaceable unarmed* volunteer meetings, the following pacific language was used by Mr. O'Connell's right-hand friend, and in the learned gentleman's hearing; it was, of course, received with loud applause:—

"I told the men of Clare," says Mr. Steele, "that if such a crisis were to arrive, in consequence of any atrocious act of the government, as that of Camden and Castlereagh in 1798, as that O'Connell should command us to have recourse to arms, and blood and convulsion, instead of our usual constitutional warfare, by which we had achieved such resplendent and inevitable triumphs; in that case, I would not order the Clare men to go into Cratloe-wood to cut down trees *for pike-handles*, but that I would first send them to cut down the trees in my own domain of Lough O'Connell, and that I would, of course, myself not be idle, nor a mere looker-on in the conflict."

volunteers armed again? I answer, that *I do.* (*Great cheering.*) I love the institution of a national guard, and every man of character and responsibility should be armed."

For the remainder of this inflammatory and seditious harangue, vide *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, 9th January 1833.

That the British Government and Parliament will permit such language and such proceedings to pass unnoticed and unchecked, no friend of order will assert; and in instantly suppressing the "Volunteers," and every political society in Ireland, they will be supported by the following sound and judicious opinion of the immortal Washington, in his parting address to the citizens of his country.*

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real character to DIRECT, CONTROL, COUNTERACT, OR AWE the REGULAR DELIBERATION and ACTION of the CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES, are DESTRUCTIVE of this FUNDAMENTAL principle,† and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambi-

* 17th September 1796, when declining being again elected President.

† Namely, the duty of every individual to obey the established government which they had contributed to form.

tious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion."

I proceed now to ask Mr. O'Connell, in the language of Newenham,* will he for a moment reflect on "the pecuniary losses which Ireland has sustained by rebellions: which reflection should (even if other considerations were wanting)† be sufficient to teach those persons who are, or ought to be, interested in the welfare of that country considered apart or as involved in that of the British Empire, to avoid such practices or measures as may ultimately have the effect of kindling the destructive flames of civil war."‡

Does the learned gentleman suppose, that because two or three amiable but misguided enthusiasts, not of the Roman Catholic faith, have followed at his chariot-wheels, that therefore the great mass of loyal, intelligent and wealthy Protestants, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, who have shed their best blood in defence of British connexion and

* This universally admitted able writer on Irish affairs justly remarks, that "under an equitable and well-cemented Union, the sister islands cannot fail to experience the highest possible commercial and political advantages, mutually enriching, strengthening, and aggrandizing each other."—*Newenham*, page 356.

† A recent historian truly observes, that "the two islands are necessary to each other; and a connection purchased by ages of suffering, and cemented by the blood of both nations, is too precious to be bartered for any thing!"

‡ *Newenham on Irish Population*, p. 167.

British liberty,*—that they are ready to march under the banners of *one* man, and that man Mr. O'Connell ?

Has not the quantity of life lost and maimed at the recent elections, at Belfast,† at Dungarvon, in the counties of Limerick, Mayo, &c. have not these melancholy contests taught him what would be the inevitable result of attempting to form an Irish Parliament without reference at all to British connexion ? “ Never,” says the historian O'Driscoll, “ was a principle more free in its onset from *religious* taint than that of the ‘ United Irishmen ;’ but on the very breaking out of the insurrection, the old fiend, the evil genius of Ireland, appeared upon the field, drinking the blood of the people ; a long untasted luxury : a war of separation would soon become a religious war, and then a war of

* When the Pretender landed in North Britain, the Irish Protestants raised the following corps in support of the house of Hanover, each corps consisting of eight or nine companies (the Tyrone regiment had sixteen companies), all perfectly armed, equipped, and trained. Leinster raised sixteen regiments of dragoons, and fourteen ditto of foot ; Ulster and Munster, forty regiments of dragoons, and twenty-two of foot ; Connaught, twelve of dragoons, and three of foot. For King William, and in defence of the Reformation, the Irish Protestants raised 40,000 chosen troops ; and in 1798, as well as at the time of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, and at numerous other periods, they have been the connecting link between England and Ireland, a bulwark round the throne, and a mound of defence for constitutional freedom.

† At Belfast, in December last, the old baneful cry of “ to hell with the pope,” and that of “ the pope in the pillory, the pillory in hell, and the devil pelting priests at him,” was revived, and several persons were killed.

extermination ; it would leave Ireland a desert deluged with blood ;" (vol. ii. p. 228.)

" Ireland," says the foregoing historian, " is divided into two great parties,* peasantry and gentry, protestant and catholic ; a war of separation from England would be a war between these parties ; any war in Ireland, come how it may, let it spring from whatever principle, would soon take this direction, and find the old and frightful channel in which the blood of that country has flowed for ages."† This is the prophetic declaration of an able and correct Irish writer, and never was there one more fortified by experience of the past, a careful examination of the present, and the most probable prospect of the future.

The present Government have made great efforts to stand neuter between the two great parties ; to abolish corruption,‡ and govern Ireland

* There are great variations and numerous distinctions in the Irish population, the leading branches of which are the Scotto Irish in the North, the Milesian in the West, purely Irish in the South, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and Danish blood on the Eastern coast. Mr. O'Driscoll, in speaking of two great parties, alludes to the property, religion, and intelligence of the nation at large.

† Vol. ii. p. 228.

‡ The desire of Lord Althorp to remove such shameful extravagance and abuse as that, for instance, of Sir Abraham Bradley King's stationary patent, was violently opposed by Mr. O'Connell, in order that he might gain a temporary good opinion among the Orangemen : the same course was pursued with respect to the Orange processions. There is a jesuitical hypocrisy in such conduct, deserving of the warmest reprobation.

with justice to every sect, of whatever religious persuasion. How has Mr. O'Connell and his Roman Catholic coadjutors met these efforts for impartial dealing? By redoubling their efforts at separation from England, and by stimulating those very Orangemen whom the Government desired to place on a footing with their Roman Catholic brethren, to join them in mutual hostility to England. What must be the inevitable result of such a policy as that now pursued by Mr. O'Connell? Why, that Protestant ascendancy must be revived in all its plenitude of power,* or the Legislative Union be repealed,† and Ireland governed by the sword, until a generation more capable of appreciating the inestimable blessings of peace and liberty has arisen in the stead of those who are either incapable of judging for themselves, or who spurn a connexion which a rightly constituted mind would gladly embrace. None but a madman or a fool can, in the present state of the world, imagine that a federal connexion between England and Ireland would be permanent; and, as the historian before quoted observes—

* Mr. O'Driscoll the historian says, that previous to the Union, the "tyranny of the Orange faction was found to be more tolerable than the despotism of the mob and their leaders:" vol. ii. p. 221.

† The Protestants of Ireland and of England would never have consented to Catholic Emancipation, but that an Imperial Legislature had been established, by which the danger apprehended from a popish dominion was nullified. A repeal of the Union would therefore be justly accompanied by a Repeal of the Catholic Emancipation Bill.

“ If a separation were not criminal, would it be desirable ? It was admitted by the projectors of separation (in 1798), that a close alliance with Great Britain would be necessary to enable one or both islands to balance themselves with effect against the neighbouring nations. This admission was a surrender of the question. The alliance is now more complete and effectual for its purpose than it could be under any other circumstances ; and although purchased by sacrifices, it is attended by important advantages.”—*O’Driscoll’s Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 242.

“ But,” says the same able writer,—

“ supposing, what appears to be *impossible*, that these great parties (Protestants and Roman Catholics) were to concur to shake off the power of England, and that this were effected—what then ? How many questions would start up, and press for a decision ! Questions which have heretofore been decided by the arbitration of arms, would, I fear, admit again of no inferior appeal. Where would the statesman find materials to build up his moral structure ? Such as they are, they would ignite in his hands, and burn as they were brought in contact, until the whole island presented the aspect of a great volcano ”—*Ibid.* 229.

Where, indeed, would the greatest statesman that ever lived find the materials necessary for the moral structure of a government, amidst so heterogeneous and discordant a mass as that in which the people of Ireland present, and which the present efforts of Mr. O’Connell bid fair to perpetuate in its existing baneful state for a long period.*

* I have shewn, in the preceding chapters, a few of the means by which Mr. O’Connell is zealously endeavouring to excite animosity in Ireland towards Englishmen, or “ Saxons,” whose policy he declares is, and ever was, “ to divide and distract the Irish, and to foster and encourage every dissention ;” a declaration which is as little consistent with truth as the following words of Mr. O’Connell, on the 2d of January last :—

“ The

It has been demonstrated that Mr. O'Connell now repudiates the idea of a mere domestic legislature in Dublin, and which, in the genuine sense of the term, would be nothing more than a Board of Works; and it will be admitted on calm reflection that a federal union could not long, if indeed for the shortest period, exist;† and this, independent of the passions and prejudices inherent in human nature; and which, though sometimes dormant, are easily roused into vehement action. The present proceedings in North America afford a case in

“ The Union was produced because England was becoming *jealous* of the increasing prosperity of Ireland. The Union was produced because the English could not *tolerate* the rapidly advancing prosperity of Ireland. The Tartars have a notion that if you kill a man of talent and information, you acquire an increase of understanding and knowledge by his death. England, in the Union with Ireland, seemed to have acted on this notion.”

The first chapter of this work proves whether Ireland was so rapidly advancing in prosperity when the Union took place; that a jealous and inimical feeling produced the Union, the third chapter demonstrates to be untrue.

† A recent writer on the moral and political state of Ireland thus remarks, in reference to a federal union:—“ It was proposed to obviate some of the difficulties which follow separation by a species of federal connexion: such a connexion could not be permanent. Two independent nations, of unequal strength and lying close together, would not long remain at peace. Their position and their inequality would lead to war. Every circumstance, such as the similarity of language and manners, would, in case of a separation, heighten the probability of dissention, and make war inevitable. The balance between the nations might occasionally be maintained by well-managed alliances; but woe to the nation which is forced to rest its security upon foreign aid, or the wretched reliance of treaty or policy! This is a dear defence of nations.”—P. 242.

point. South Carolina is an agricultural country—New England, and the Northern States, a manufacturing; hence the present disagreement, and threat of resort to force by St. Carolina, under the guidance of a *domestic Legislature*, invested with more extensive privileges than Ireland could expect for a similar assembly. Ireland stands in the very same relation to England as the opposing States in the North American Republic. This will be clearly seen by the following estimate of the value of property in Ireland in 1827 by M. Cæsar Moreau, in his justly celebrated statistical tables.

“ Productive private property in Ireland, £467,660,000 : of which lands (cultivated) form £300,160,000 ; and agricultural property, £10,000,000 ; and animals, £50,000,000.

“ Unproductive private property, £87,000,000 : of which waste lands form £33,000,000 ; the remainder, furniture, apparel, &c.

“ Public property, at £9,000,000 : *viz.* public buildings, churches, castles, prisons, hospitals, &c.”

Thus we see that agriculture is the staple of Ireland, as manufactures is of England ; and every bushel of corn that the Irish farmer can grow, or every egg, fowl, pig, or bullock which he can rear, will bring him instantly a remunerating price in England.* Is the Irish agriculturist prepared to

* A recent report of Parliament states, that “ there are at least 1,576,000 acres of flat red bog in Ireland, *all* of which might be converted to the general purposes of agriculture ; and 1,255,000 form the covering of mountains, of which a very large proportion might be improved, at a small expense, for pasture, or be still more beneficially applied
to

give up such a speedy and certain market for the gratification of Mr. O'Connell's projects? Or does he expect that on an attempt at separation from England he would find other markets? Where? Not in Europe; corn and animal food can be raised far cheaper on the continent than in Ireland; and certainly not in Asia or Africa, much less in America. Under such circumstances, he would soon find out whether the idea that it would be better to keep agricultural produce at home, or to export it, was a just one. The commonest field labourer would speedily learn that a diminished supply would surely attend a diminished demand, as was the case when the French markets were shut against the St. Domingo produce.

But England would labour under no such impediment to her progress; she could obtain food in every part of the globe in exchange for her manufactures, and were it not for political considerations, she would carry on a more profitable commerce with Europe than with Ireland. But while she is determined on holding her situation among the nations of the earth, the possibility of Ireland

to the purposes of plantation." And Newenham (p. 332) observes, that "eighteen parts of Ireland out of nineteen might, without struggling against nature, as in other countries, be rendered fertile in an uncommon degree by capital, industry, and ingenuity." But so long as the agitation of the question of Repeal is permitted, so long men's minds will remain unsettled, and Ireland will continue to be cursed with poverty and crime in the midst of the means of plenty, intelligence, and peace.

being a vulnerable point for the attack of an enemy, must be prevented at all hazards—nay, at the sacrifice of her dearest heart's blood, and at the cost of her incalculable treasure.

In the language of the President of the American Republic, I implore my fellow-countrymen to “contemplate the condition of that country of which they still form an important part; to consider its government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection, so many states (fifty-six colonies in every ocean and on every shore of this habitable world, with a population of *one hundred and fifty million* of subjects, spread over a fertile surface of *one million five hundred thousand* square miles!) giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of American [British] citizens; protecting their commerce, securing their literature and their arts, facilitating their intercommunication, defending their frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth. Consider the extent of its territory, its increasing population, its advance in arts, which renders life agreeable, and the sciences which elevate the mind! See education spreading the lights of religion, humanity, and general information, in every cottage in this wide extent of our territories and states! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support.—Look on this picture and say, we too are American [British] citizens;—

Carolina [Ireland] is one of those proud states. Can you add, without horror and remorse, this happy Union we will dissolve—this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface—this free intercourse we will interrupt—these fertile fields we will deluge with blood—the protection of that glorious flag we renounce—the very name of Americans [Britons] we discard. And for what, mistaken men?—for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings—for what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honour of the Union? *For the dream of a separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbours, and a vile dependence on a foreign power.* If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? *Are you united at home—are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences?* Do our neighbouring republics, [kingdoms, viz. France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, &c.] every day suffering some new revolution, or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But (continues General Jackson) the dictates of a high duty obliges me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed. The laws of the United States [Kingdom] must be executed; I have no discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the constitution. Those who told you that you might *peaceably* prevent their execu-

tion, deceived you—they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion; but be not deceived by names; *disunion, by armed force, is treason*, and are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequences—on their heads be the dishonour, but on yours may fall the punishment—on your unhappy state will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your country. *It cannot accede to the mad project of disunion of which you would be the first victims*—its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequences must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow-citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world.”*

Such must be the language of the first magistrate of the United Kingdom to his deluded subjects; and the disunion which Mr. O’Connell is seeking to obtain by armed force, under the pretence of volunteers, whom he desires to be ready to appear in arms and uniform at a moment’s warning, must be stopped in its onset; for there cannot be a greater danger to a free constitution than the doctrine that there is a point where the

* General Jackson’s Message to South Carolina.

duty of the Legislature ends, and that of the people begins; and to this result the policy of passive resistance indubitably leads, while the organization of the moral force of a nation is but a preliminary step to a demonstration of physical power.*

* I cannot omit noticing one of the baits held out by Mr. O'Connell to the people of Ireland, to facilitate a Repeal of the Union; in his speech of the 3d of January last, when requesting, or rather commanding, every parish to organize itself for the purpose of obtaining Repeal, he thus deludes the nation with respect to the national debt, having previously informed the people, that as it now stands every man's land and house is mortgaged, and that Ireland is saddled with an unjust debt. Let the national creditors of the United Kingdom take warning at the following language of Mr. O'Connell. "He then adverted to the debt, and to the injustice of Ireland being made accountable for any part of the £420,000,000 that England owed at the Union. He said, that though he might cavil with some part of the Irish debt of £26,000,000 which existed at that period, yet that Ireland would not shrink from her share of the obligation, and would pay her allotted share of £26,000,000, with her fair share of what had since accrued. Mr. O'Connell continued to say, that Ireland owed twenty-six millions of debt, and, as it owed that sum, it ought to be paid; but they were charged with 800 millions (hear, hear.) He was ready to demonstrate that Ireland owed only eleven millions. He would take the debt at twenty-six millions—aye, at fifty, and he would shew they were able to pay it. In two years they could pay of that sum to the last farthing. The church lands should be sold (hear), not subject to quit rents, and they would produce forty millions (cheers). There were, besides, *the absentee rents*, and a credit on the revenues amounting to five millions (cheers). When the cessation of the agitation of the Emancipation Question gave the people time to look around them, pains had been taken to confuse the accounts as much as possible. In twelve months the national debt could be extinguished, and internal taxes abolished (cheers), excepting a small stamp duty, which would be useful and necessary as a preventive to forgery. He did not mean to delay the meeting by entering then into these computations. He (Mr. O'C.) had put forward the proposition more than once, that
Ireland

There are several remedial measures which a reformed Parliament will adopt for the removal of Irish grievances, and which nothing can retard the execution of but the proceedings of Mr. O'Connell; while the learned gentleman's threat of repealing the Union, at every moment when his personal feelings are hurt, must be finally put a stop to by the passing of an Act of Parliament, declaring that *every attempt or design, overt or covert, to repeal the Legislative Union between England, Ireland, and Scotland, be deemed high treason, and subject to the pains and penalties attending thereon.* Let Parliament receive no petition on the subject, on the same grounds that they would refuse to receive one for the dethronement of the King, the creation of a republic, or any similar project. Until this act be passed, let the supreme authority of the law be upheld in Ireland, and personal security and property† be protected by the sword, even were 100,000 regulars and militia requisite for the purpose; and when every society, under whatsoever denomination, be suppressed (taxing, of course, the county which requires

Ireland was capable of being totally out of debt in two years; and that, with her resources, she should have the luxuries of life on the cheapest terms, cheaper even than in America, and have no internal taxes (hear). But it was necessary that they should have a Parliament at home (loud cheers)."

† There is not, at the present moment, any security for life or property beyond the suburbs of any large city in Ireland, unless a person be a follower or disciple of Mr. O'Connell's.

the application of extensive measures); *then* let the Government, but not till *then*, bring forward their remedial measures for Ireland; let Mr. O'Connell and his dupes be taught that a British Parliament are not to be made the slaves of popular fear; to tremble or bend before the nod or dictation of any man who has cunning enough to deceive the patriotic and weak-minded of his too sanguine countrymen, or to be able to stimulate the passions of an ignorant and ferocious multitude; let him and all other enemies of British connection know and feel, that ere now the loyal and faithful subjects of England, Ireland, and Scotland, braved a world in arms, though headed by the mightiest scourge that ever desolated the earth.

The application of the principle of the
Government, but not of the people, is
not only a mistake, but a dangerous one.
The people are the only source of power,
and the only source of justice.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX I.

THE foregoing pages have been written and printed within less than four weeks, a great part of which time was spent in travelling; I may therefore be permitted to add, in an Appendix, a few official documents, which completely substantiate the statements as to the progressive prosperity of Ireland since her legislative Union with Great Britain. I might, indeed, rest contented with the facts already adduced, but assertion has so long usurped the place of argument, that I may be excused strengthening my position by the publication of matter which is of considerable value, because it refers not merely to exports and imports, but to the actual condition of the Irish people in the aggregate. The following convincing document is from the extensive and elaborate Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, on the "State of the Irish Poor."

"By returns made from the County Treasurers throughout Ireland, the rate of day labour appears to average 10*d.*, as charged in the accounts of Presentment work. During the last five years, it does not appear that the wages of labour paid by the Board of Works, the Government Engineers, or the Directors-General of Inland Navigation, have fallen. A very extensive contractor, Mr. Mullins, considers, 'that there is rather a tendency to increase the rate of wages than otherwise;' and in comparing the present wages with what was received during the war, the same witness adds, 'that the labourers can now purchase as much provisions for 6*s.* as they could formerly for 12*s.* Clothing,' he further states, 'is less than one-half

cheaper ; linen is to be had for one-half the price ; cottons, calicoes, and checks, those kinds of fabrics which the poorer class of females wear, are now to be had for one-fourth.' References are given in the margin to the testimony of witnesses from all parts of Ireland, tending to prove that no very considerable fall in the wages of labour has taken place. Mr. Mahony observes, ' that the state of the peasantry has improved very rapidly of late years ; that the country has greatly altered for the better ; that the peasantry are better clothed, and in every way seem to be more comfortable, and that their houses are improving.' He adds, ' that agriculture has improved ; the mode of ploughing, the description of carts and other farming implements.' A practical farmer states, that ' the quality of agricultural produce has improved, and the quantity has increased ; that the description of stock in husbandry has improved since the increased intercourse with England ; the Hereford, Ayrshire, and Leicester breeds being brought over.' More land is cultivated, and the people are considered to possess more comforts than formerly, and on Sundays and holydays to be better clothed. Among the better class of farmers, Mr. Musgrave considers, ' that very great improvement has taken place, and that the number of slated houses is increasing very considerably ; that the repeal of the Union duties has produced a great cheapness of calico, and dress of that kind ; and that in country villages there is a much greater number of bakers than there were a few years ago.' The House will at once perceive the importance of this last observation. The peasantry, who by means of the facilities of steam navigation, carry their produce to the English market, are said to acquire information and good habits by their intercourse with England ; the fruits of which are becoming more and more manifested in Ireland.' In the county of Wexford, Captain Owen states, that agriculture is in a state of very rapid improvement, evinced in ' a superior mode of ploughing, better agricultural implements, improvement of stock, and a better management of farms.' Roads of all descriptions have improved, and the facilities of transport and of con-

veyance have been augmented ; a striking example of which is given in the establishment of day cars by Mr. Bianconi in the south-east of Ireland. These vehicles, chiefly used as conveyances by the middle classes, were only introduced in 1815 ; and at the present moment have so widely extended as to travel over 1,600 miles daily. This establishment yields support to more than 100 families ; employs 200 horses, and creates a demand for 8,000 to 10,000 barrels of oats, and 600 to 700 tons of hay. In like manner, in the county of Mayo, Mr. Livingstone, a merchant of Ballina, observes, that ‘the habits of the peasantry, their clothing, and their houses, are all improving.’ Mr. Weale, an officer of the Department of the Land Revenue, considers, ‘that in every quarter, in every corner of Ireland, there are perceivable evidences of growing and rapidly growing prosperity.’ There is an extension of the growth of clover and vetches. Iron ploughs, of an excellent description, are purchased ; and the common log, or block wheel, formerly used, is now superseded by the spoke wheel, introduced almost everywhere. Mr. Barry, an inspector-general of fisheries, states, ‘that the clothing, furniture, and comforts of the fishermen have improved decidedly within his observation : and that the progress of improvement in Ireland, moral and practical, has been, during the last ten years, exceedingly rapid.’ It is observed by the same witness, that wherever the coast-guard establishment, which ‘is almost exclusively English or Welch, has been fixed, the most obvious improvement has taken place in the neighbourhood ; the example which those men have shown being productive of most beneficial consequences. The intercourse by steam between the two countries, has given a value to many of the lesser articles of farming produce, formerly almost without a market, such as eggs, poultry, honey, &c. These matters are now brought into the British market, and produce almost a ‘new creation of property, which is laid out in manufactured goods, dress, and articles of furniture.’ The inhabitants of Liverpool are stated by a resident in that town to be quite aware of the altered appearance even

of the Irish reapers, who 'no longer come in the tattered clothes they formerly appeared in; they are ashamed of their rags, and are apparently a different class of persons.' 'I speak from a great deal of examination into the state of Ireland,' observes Mr. Blake, the Chief Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer; 'Ireland is becoming from day to day more prosperous: capital is spreading throughout Ireland, and in proportion as it spreads, so will the general state of all classes be improved.' In the county of Armagh, Mr. Greer observes, that the consumption of wheaten bread has considerably augmented; and that at Lurgan, so far from there being a considerable mass of the people out of employment, the witness did not know any man able to work that cannot get work there. The statement made by Mr. Wiggins, an English land agent, in describing the south-west of Ireland, is equally satisfactory: 'A very great improvement has taken place in all respects during the last twenty-two years; with regard to food there is not much change; but in the habits of cleanliness, and order and regularity, in their clothing, and sense of propriety in all respects, I conceive in their moral character and conduct altogether the improvement has been very striking.' In a subsequent part of his examination he adds, 'I think the improvement of Ireland has been more rapid than any improvement I ever saw in England in any large tract of country.' 'Formerly,' observes Mr. J. D. Mullen, 'the labourers of the county of Dublin wore a coarse kind of cloth called frieze, now they uniformly wear cloth which is dearer, and is an evidence of an improved notion of comfort.'

"The state of the labouring classes must depend on the proportion existing between the number of the people and the capital which can be profitably employed in labour; and your Committee agree in the observations made by a witness of great acuteness and information, that 'the operation of natural causes, and the improved spirit of social life, are the true and efficient sources from which the prosperity of Ireland may be anticipated. The foundations of her prosperity are laid,

concludes Mr. Roe, ‘and time will complete the structure.’ ”

No language of mine could add to the strength of this highly important testimony ; I shall merely corroborate it with the following table, derived from the volumes in which the preceding evidence is given ; and it is hoped that those who have declared that the consumption of tea, coffee, and sugar, has decreased in Ireland since the Union, will now be as ready to acknowledge they were in error, as they were to promulgate the misstatement :

QUANTITIES of TEA, COFFEE, and SUGAR, retained for HOME CONSUMPTION in IRELAND, at two periods of Ten Years each, previous and subsequent to the Union.

Periods.	Tea, lbs.	Coffee, lbs.	Sugar, cwts.
1784 to 1793	17,973,643	410,782	2,018,219
1818 to 1827	34,648,817	3,335,530	3,547,032
Increase	16,675,174	2,924,748	1,528,813

Rates of duty on *tea* during the first period, 4*d.* to 6*d.* per lb. ; on the latter period £96 to £100 per cent., or from 3*s.* to 6*s.* per lb. Duty on sugar during first period (British plantation), 13*s.* to 16*s.* (Irish) per cwt. ; on latter period 27*s.* (British) per cwt.

Continuing their Report, the Select Committee of Parliament state, that “since the period of the Union, there have been very considerable sums of money either granted or advanced by Parliament for roads, bridges, canals, piers, harbours, and other public works in Ireland. Between 1805 and 1822, surveys were made by the Post-office of 2,068 miles of mail coach roads, the estimate for these improvements being £1,931,782 ; of this sum, 673,516 was expended in seven years. Under Acts of Parliament passed of late years, very large sums of

money have been vested, either 'for the employment of the Irish poor,' for 'public works,' or for the 'exigency of affairs in Ireland.' "

The efforts of the Government to improve the people and the country, will be best seen in the following gratifying statement of the results attendant on the works undertaken by the Government in various parts of Ireland.

"Mr. Nimmo states, in 1823, that 'the fertile plains of Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, are separated from each other by a deserted country, hitherto nearly an impassable barrier between them. This large district comprehends nearly 600 Irish, or 970 square miles British. In many places it is very populous. As might be expected under such circumstances, the people are turbulent, and their houses being inaccessible for want of roads, it is not surprising that, during the disturbances in 1821 and 1822, this district was the asylum for whiteboys, smugglers, and robbers, and that stolen cattle were drawn into it as to a safe and impenetrable retreat. Notwithstanding its present desolate state, this country contains within itself the seeds of future improvement and industry.' Such was the state of things in 1822 ; subsequently, an engineer of eminence, Mr. Griffith, was employed to execute Public Works in this district, under the authority of the Government. He confirms the former statement of Mr. Nimmo. 'This tract,' he observes, 'is a wild, neglected, and deserted country, without roads, culture, or civilization ; it chiefly belongs to absentee proprietors, and being for the most part inaccessible, has hitherto afforded an asylum for outlaws and culprits of every description.' In the year 1829, after the execution of the works, Mr. Griffith reports with respect to the same district, 'a very considerable improvement has already taken place in the vicinity of the roads, both in the industry of the inhabitants and the appearance of the country. At the commencement of the works the people flocked into them, seeking employment at any rate ; their looks haggard, their clothing wretched ; they rarely possessed any tools or implements beyond a small ill-shaped spade ; and nearly the whole

face of the country was unimproved; since the completion of the roads, rapid strides have been made; upwards of sixty new lime-kilns have been built; carts, ploughs, harrows, and improved implements have become common; new houses of a better class have been built, new enclosures made, and the country has become perfectly tranquil, and exhibits a scene of industry and exertion at once pleasing and remarkable. A large portion of the money received for labour has been husbanded with care, laid out in building substantial houses, and in the purchase of stock and agricultural implements; and numerous examples might be shown of poor labourers, possessing neither money, houses nor land when first employed, who in the past year have been enabled to take farms, build houses, and stock their lands.'

"A most interesting account of the effect of these works on the habits of the people will be found in the Minutes, page 98. 'At Abbeyfeale and Brosna,' observes Mr. Kelly, 'above half of the congregation at mass on Sundays were barefoot and ragged, with small straw hats of their own manufacture, felt hats being only worn by a few. Hundreds, or even thousands of men, could be got to work at sixpence a day if it had been offered. The farmers were mostly in debt, and many of the families went to beg in Tipperary and other parts. The condition of the people is now very different; the congregations at the chapels are now as well clad as in other parts; the demand for labour is increased, and a spirit of industry is getting forward, since the new roads have become available.'

"'At certain periods of the year,' Mr. Griffith remarks, 'I was obliged to invite strangers to work on the roads, as none could be here procured for hire. The value of land has much increased, and in some cases more than double the rent has been offered.' As a further illustration of one of the many incidental advantages connected with these public works, your Committee refer to the evidence of Mr. Barrington, the crown prosecutor, in 1829: he states, that 'before the roads were executed, it was almost impossible to apprehend any criminal

in this district. A portion of the district was used as an asylum for offenders, and rewards were offered by the Government for the apprehension of persons in the neighbourhood. Concealed arms were deposited there, and it was the most disturbed part of the country. A party of military, a serjeant's guard, had their arms taken from them ; but the opening of the roads has given the greatest facility in pursuing offenders, and has increased the value of land very much.'

" Your Committee feel that it would be unwise to form any general conclusion from a single instance, however striking it might appear as an illustration, and however applicable from analogy, and they have therefore sought whether, from the evidence before Parliament, the inferences deduced from the examples referred to were fully sustainable. They have the satisfaction to state that they are so.

" In a Report on a part of the county of Kerry, Mr. Nimmo states, in 1824, that ' a few years ago there was hardly a plough, car, or carriage of any kind ; butter, the only produce, was carried to Cork on horseback . There was not one decent public-house, and I think only one house slated and plastered in the village ; the nearest post-office thirty miles distant. Since the new road was made, there were built in three years upwards of twenty respectable two-story houses, slated and plastered, with good sash windows ; a respectable shop, with cloth, hardware, and groceries ; a comfortable inn, a post-office, bridewell, new chapel, a quay, covered with limestone for manure, a salt work, two stores for purchasing oats, and a considerable traffic in linen and yarn. There are perhaps forty cars and carts, and a resident gentleman's coach.' In like manner, Mr. Nimmo observes, in 1829, that ' the improvement of the county of Mayo, laid open by a new road, continues to proceed rapidly. He refers to instances in which substantial houses have been built, bogs reclaimed, and planting, drainage, and improvement carried on. At Belmullet, the advance is quite surprising ; the place only commenced four years ago ; it now consists of about seventy respectable houses, two or three cottages with planted enclo-

sures, &c. Five ships were loaded with grain and kelp ; iron, hoops, and coal were imported ; and, as a convincing proof of the state the country had arrived to, thirty-five newspapers were weekly distributed through the post-office ; spirits, beer, and wine, British manufactures, tea and sugar, were sold ; the produce of the fisheries were admitted to a market ; and the population, formerly crowded in the narrow vallies, were stated to be fast settling along the new line of road.' Along the line of road from Westport to Killeery, it is stated, ' that the people are making extensive use of carts to carry in turf and produce to Westport, and to return with limestone ;' and on the Colliery road, in Leitrim, Mr. Nimmo reports, that ' it is surprising to see the improvement excited in the mountainous district ; numerous houses rising along the road, and tillage finding its way to the summit of the hill.' A most important result is noticed in the same Report : in the district surrounding Clifden, in the county of Galway, no revenue was paid to the state prior to 1822. In 1826, taxation to the amount of £2,500 was collected ; and in 1828, it had augmented to £6,080. 7s. 3d., marking a consumption of spirits, tobacco, tea, sugar, pepper, butter, glass, timber, and other articles ; and thus proving indisputably, the increased wealth and the improved habits of the people. ' I will here mention two facts that have come to my own knowledge,' states Mr. Williams ; ' one, that in consequence of the expenditure of £160,000 in public works in Connaught, in seven years, *the increase of the annual revenue has been equal* to the whole of that expenditure. I find also a corresponding increase in the revenue of the Cork district, where Mr. Griffith expended £60,000 in seven years, *and the increase of customs and excise has been £50,000 a year*, attributable mainly to the facilities of communication, by which whole districts have been rendered available for productive purposes, and a miserable pauper population converted into a class of consumers.' The same spirit of improvement appears from a Report made in the present year (to continue up to a later period) : at Belmullet the number of houses is nearly doubled.

A considerable portion of grain is drawn from districts 'where, as is well known, it used to be entirely devoted to illicit distillation.' 'The customs and excise of Galway have fully doubled since 1822; and, exclusive of the improvement in Mayo and Sligo, the surplus must have gone far to pay off the sums Government have expended since that period in the province; while the population are now enabled to pay the same rate of taxation per head, as in the rest of Ireland.' 'Some years ago,' the Rev. Mr. Hickey states, 'there was a very miserable road leading from Cork to Skibbereen, thirty-eight or forty miles distant; there was no coach at that time, and no mode of conveyance from the one point to the other without hiring a hackney-chaise, that would take probably two days to make the journey. The grand jury have since cut a new line of road, quite flat; and upon my visit last year, there were three coaches travelling as fast as most coaches in this country, and overloaded with passengers; all this tending to prove the great intercourse along that line. There were remarkable agricultural improvements carried on, connecting themselves with the opening of the road; and thereby shewing that there was a new demand for productive labour, and an improvement in the condition of the people.' "

The increase of stamp revenue in a country, indicates extended commercial business: the increase on a few years was as follows:—

1801	£133,313	1808.....	£521,192
1802.....	173,117	1809.....	533,058
1803.....	169,031	1810.....	569,678
1804.....	168,505	1811.....	562,916
1805.....	316,526	1812.....	613,434
1806.....	421,417	1813.....	627,031
1807.....	477,176	1814.....	668,633
Total.....	<u>£1,859,085</u>	Total....	<u>£4,095,942</u>

STATE OF CRIME IN IRELAND.—In the parliamentary return before me, I find the state of crime in Ireland for eight years ; and while it gives me much pleasure to shew that crime had begun to decrease in Ireland, it is truly melancholy to think that, owing to the system of agitation now in progress for repeal of the Union and tithe extinction, the favourable improvement in the morals of the people has been checked to a degree which, I fear, it will be difficult for a long period to surmount. The idea that Mr. O'Connell, and his clubs or associations, put down crime, is as much to be believed as his oft-repeated boast, that he *alone* carried Catholic Emancipation ; an assertion which is as untrue as it is ungrateful towards the numerous and respectable Protestant community in England and Ireland, who had struggled for half a century to obtain it. The foreign relations of Great Britain, the generally increasing feeling in favour of emancipation, from the monarch to the peasant, the efforts of the present Government and their friends as an opposition in both houses, and the generous and high-minded conduct of the Marquis of Anglesea, produced Catholic Emancipation, a step which inevitably followed the repeal of the Test Acts. Mr. O'Connell's share was, assisting to fan a flame which had been burning for centuries ; and had he never been born, the result would have been the same. The learned gentleman says, that *nine months* after the Catholic Association had been formed, disturbances *began* to decrease. With his usual casuistry, he throws overboard the powerful efforts of the Government at the period ; and in his *pacificatory* letters to the peasantry he has deluded, he now pays a poor compliment to the efforts or morals of the priesthood of Ireland.

DEATH SENTENCES IN IRELAND, for particular Crimes, during Eight Years.

Crimes.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	Total of each Crime.
Murder.....	13	5	11	4	5	9	5	12	64
Burglary	29	35	27	9	29	21	7	10	167
Highway Robbery	16	24	18	10	21	9	4	13	115
Murder.....	2	5	6	1	4	3	5	1	27
Burglary	0	1	5	8	5	10	5	6	40
Highway Robbery	3	5	8	2	1	14	9	4	47
Murder.....	35	10	26	10	10	10	16	11	128
Burglary	33	25	20	8	14	19	8	9	136
Highway Robbery	7	3	7	4	6	10	5	9	51
Murder.....	4	1	6	2	9	0	2	2	26
Burglary	19	12	7	0	19	6	0	1	64
Highway Robbery	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	4	10
Murder.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Burglary	4	9	25	10	6	9	6	7	76
Highway Robbery	2	4	33	20	31	15	2	0	107
TOTAL EXECUTIONS during Eight Years for the above-mentioned Crimes.									
Murder.....	42	18	41	9	17	12	16	21	176
Burglary	20	18	7	4	5	6	0	6	66
Highway Robbery	3	8	3	2	5	2	0	1	24

The foregoing table shews that the laws were not administered with severity ; for of 252 murderers, but 176 were executed ; of 483 burglars, 66 were executed ; and of 329 highway robbers, but 24 were executed. There were, during the same years, 40 persons sentenced to death for arson, and only 14 executed ; for rape, 69 sentenced, and 16 executed ; for attacking dwelling-houses, 159 sentenced, and 29 executed ; assault, with intent to murder, 9 sentenced, and *none* executed ; horse-stealing, 262 sentenced, *none* executed ; sheep-stealing, 33 sentenced, *none* executed ; cattle-stealing, 81 sentenced, *none* executed ; for forgery, 37 sentenced, *none* executed. In fine, lenity was carried much farther in Ireland than in England ; and were it not for the present accursed agitation, the good effects thereof would be now plainly discernible in the improved morals of the people.*

That greater lenity was evinced in Ireland than in England, will be seen by the following comparison of the deaths sentences, and executions in both countries, on an aggregate of seven years:—

CRIMES.	ENGLAND.		IRELAND.	
	Death Sentences.	Number of Executions.	Death Sentences.	Number of Executions.
Murder	99	88	198	134
Burglary	1,797	64	398	46
Highway Robbery	977	69	301	21
Sheep Stealing....	843	16	26	none.
Coining.....	31	11	17	none.
Rape	53	24	65	13
Forgery	217	21	29	none.
Horse Stealing	956	42	238	none.
TOTAL	4,973	335	1,272	214

* For the beneficial results attending *certainty* and lenity of punishment, *vide* the details of crime in England, France, and India, as exhibited in my work on the Anglo-Eastern Empire in 1832.

The Committee think that, on the whole, the diminution of crime (up to 1829) is "highly satisfactory;" and that, although the population of Ireland has increased so rapidly, "there has been no general increase of crime, and, in some most important particulars, it has decreased." The general average of executions for eight years (from 1822 to 1829) was 46; but in the latter two years only 29½. Crimes have increased when left to private prosecution, but diminished when publicly prosecuted.

That the state of crime or immorality in Ireland is not owing to any neglect of the wants of the poor or the distressed by the Irish gentry, will be best demonstrated by quoting an extract from the House of Commons' Report of 1830, from which this Appendix is derived, and as those gentry, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, have been much calumniated and abused by one party, it is but fair to look at the other side of the picture:—

"The House will see with satisfaction," says the Select Committee, "that in reference to one of the most painful afflictions to which humanity is exposed (madness), there has been provided, within a few years, a system of relief for the Irish poor, as extensive as can be wished, and as perfect and as effectual as is found in any other country. It is worthy of observation, that the whole of the district establishments are erected and maintained *without any assistance from the public purse*, beyond the loan in advance of the work in building." (Report of 1830, p. 29.)

The Committee proceed to remark on other charities, whether under the superintendence of grand juries, or supported by voluntary contributions; and which, in justice to the Irish gentry and middling classes of society, I must be permitted to request the reader's attention thereto:—

"General Superintendence of Charities by Grand Juries."

"Your Committee have thus given to the House a full statement of the several charitable establishments supported in the

whole or in part by grand jury assessment. It has been shewn that a provision is made for the lunatic poor, considered 'to be even more liberal than what is given in England.' The law respecting fever hospitals, and the practice under that law (except in Ulster and parts of Connaught), seems to provide for the necessary purposes both of benevolence and of medical police. Infirmaries are established, with a single exception, throughout Ireland; and the dispensary system, combining *private subscription* with aid from local assessment, and giving relief to upwards of *half a million of persons*, seems peculiarly well calculated to call forth the benevolence of the rich, and to relieve the afflictions of the poor.

"Several witnesses have stated, that 'the assistance now given in the fever hospitals and dispensaries, in cases of sickness, is quite sufficient.' Mr. Bicheno adds, 'It appears to me that the *provision for the sick poor is larger in Ireland than in England*. The infirmaries, fever hospitals, and lunatic asylums, are often on a *magnificent scale*. Those which I saw at Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Dublin, and Belfast, are all well managed, as far as my cursory observation went. The system of providing for the sick poor is certainly *more complete in Ireland than in England*. The infirmaries in England are only erected in very large cities and towns; whereas in Ireland they are become a system and a part of the law of the land.' This statement is confirmed by Dr. Doyle,* who expresses his opinion that 'the system of relief provided in the way of medicine and medical attendance for the poor, is fully adequate;' adding, 'perhaps in some portions of those districts to which his evidence refers, there may not be a sufficient supply of means of relief for persons afflicted with fever; but making that exception, he is confident that the dispensaries are well managed;

* Dr. Doyle, as well as many other Roman Catholic priests, are indeed a blessing to Ireland; if the advice of such men as Dr. Doyle were attended to by the peasantry, it would be well for the whole nation.—R. M. Martin.

that they are more than sufficient in number, and that there is no person having a just claim for relief who is not attended to.' Mr. Ensor does not think 'that the system of relief for the poor by medical assistance need be carried further than at present.'

"Charities supported by Voluntary Contributions."

"The charities which are maintained by private benevolence, independently of any contribution from general or from local taxation, are *very numerous*, and are stated to be *most liberally supported*. Amongst them will be found *schools, hospitals, magdalen asylums, houses of refuge, orphan establishments, lying-in-hospitals, societies for the sick and indigent, mendicity associations, and charitable loans*. An account of some of these charities, supported in the cities of Dublin, Londonderry, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, will be found in the evidence; collections are made at charity sermons by the clergy of all persuasions, and the city of Dublin is stated to be particularly distinguished for the amount of such contributions. It appears that, throughout the entire year, with the exception of Easter, collections are made by the means of charity sermons, at one or other of the Roman Catholic places of worship in Dublin; and Mr. Blake states that this mode of appealing to the benevolent 'is more prevalent in Dublin than in London, there being scarcely a Sunday in the spring, autumn, and winter months in which he has not been asked to attend at some place of worship as a collector.' Mr. Bicheno considers the private 'charitable societies to be in a very active state. In the towns, *there is great activity among the gentry, who appear very attentive to their duty as committee men, taking a very great interest in the poor*.' But it is among *the middling and even the poorer classes*, that the most striking exhibitions of sympathy and benevolence are discernible. 'If I were to speak till the sun went down,' observes Dr. Doyle. 'I could not convey a just picture of the benevolence prevailing in the minds and hearts of *the middling classes in Ireland*; but it is sufficiently proved by this, that the poor are

almost supported exclusively by them, although they form a class not over numerous, and subject to great pressure ; still of the million and a half or two millions now expended to support the Irish poor, nearly the entire falls on the farmers and other industrious classes.—‘ The same feelings,’ adds Dr. Doyle, ‘ manifest themselves in the class below the condition of farmers, and are exhibited even by the charities of the poor towards the poor. You cannot be among the poor for a single day, particularly if you discharge the duties of a clergyman visiting the sick, without witnessing the exercise of it in the most touching manner. In visiting a poor creature in a hovel where distress and misery prevail, we find the creature surrounded by poor neighbours, one of whom brings him a little bread or meal another a little meat, or prepares a little broth or soup, and they all comfort him with their conversation and society. If the clergyman be expected, they put the little place in order, and seek to make it clean, and their expressions of sympathy for the poor creatures are such as console the heart in the midst of that distress.’

“ *Asylums for the Prevention and Relief of Mendicity.*

“ Societies for the suppression of mendicity have been founded in very many parts of Ireland, and are *supported by voluntary contributions*. They are similar to the institution for the same purpose established in this metropolis, and at Bath by Mr. Duncan, and in other places. In Dublin the income of the society amounts to £7,000 ; and your Committee are informed, ‘ that although the voluntary contributions are scarcely sufficient for maintaining the establishment, still on the whole, supporting the poor as they do, they have enough.’ When the funds are very much reduced, as appears of late to have been the case, a threat is adopted of applying to Parliament for a power of compulsory assessment, or an intimation is given that the mendicants supported in the asylum will be discharged in the streets, and by these means additional subscriptions are called in. A considerable number of parishes in Antrim have

adopted this system of mendicity societies, and relieve their own poor, excluding strangers. This is done by private contributions, and without any law for a compulsory assessment. Mr. Page considers these mendicity societies to have succeeded: 'I found no begging in the streets,' he observes, 'in Dublin or Limerick; very little in Cork, very little in Waterford: I mean actual mendicants, pestering you in the streets. There is not in Dublin more begging than there is in London at the present moment.' The same result has attended the exertions of the mendicity society for the city of Londonderry: 'At present, and for some years past, there is no such thing as street begging in the city of Derry; it has been suppressed in consequence of the Mendicity Society, supported exclusively by voluntary contributions.' In Drogheda, it is stated that 'street-begging has been completely suppressed; it having been a great evil before the establishment of the Mendicity Asylum.' "

The health of the poor is stated by the Committee to be much improved; and fever, the scourge of Ireland, is on the decrease. This is exemplified by returns, of which the following is an example:—

ADMISSIONS INTO THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN'S LIMERICK.

1818	.....	Number of Patients	.....	2,476
1819	.....	Ditto	.....	3,499
1820	.....	Ditto	.....	1,082
1821	.....	Ditto	.....	692

In the second chapter I have referred to the state of the Savings' Banks, as strongly indicating the increasing providence and comforts of the people. This view is supported, I find, by the Parliamentary Committee as follows—[It must not be forgotten, that of late years, since 1829, the rate of interest has been reduced from five to three and a half per cent, and the amount of deposits limited by act of parliament; hence the banks got a check, as they also did on Mr. O'Connell's mischievous and senseless cry of "Run for your gold!"]:

“ State of the Savings’ Banks and the Charitable Loan Societies.

“ As one mode of ascertaining the economical condition of the people of Ireland, your Committee have considered the state of some of the charitable loans and the accounts of the savings’ banks. Under the first class of these institutions, small loans are made to necessitous but trustworthy persons, which are repayable with interest, and re-applied in the same manner. Thus the charity not only supports itself, but the principal accumulates by the addition of interest. During the management of Mr. Baylee, a witness examined before your Committee, the Pery Charitable Loan ‘ has more than doubled ; not a farthing of the money is idle ; as soon as the amount of a loan is collected, that loan is instantly lent out ;’ and it is stated to have had the effect of improving the condition of the people, and of producing habits of punctuality in the performance of their engagements. In Derry a similar charity was established, the fund having been created by collections at three charity sermons, preached by the Lord Bishop of Derry, by a Presbyterian minister, and by a Roman Catholic clergyman. A principal sum of £500 in small loans has, in twenty-one years, been lent out in 12,600 small loans, giving relief to families containing 63,000 persons, and affording pecuniary assistance equal to £27,300. On this sum the loss by default of payment has not exceeded £7. 1s. The same system has been applied with equally useful effects to the encouragement of industry among the fishermen ; and it has been a most gratifying circumstance to your Committee to remark, that a balance of the subscription raised in England in 1823, for the relief of Irish distress, continues to be usefully and benevolently applied for this purpose. Mr. Barry observes, ‘ that the repayment of these small loans has been uncommonly regular, considering the miserable state of destitution in which these persons are ; a fact which proves that there is a very current disposition upon the part of the peasantry to avail

themselves of any advantages which may be granted ; and that there is a fair and honest disposition to make repayment when they are enabled to do so.' This evidence with respect to the prudential habits of the better classes of the Irish peasantry, is confirmed in a remarkable manner by the testimony of Mr. Hutchinson, Actuary to the London Provident Institution, given before the Committee on Life Annuities in 1829. The following is an abstract of the accounts respecting the Savings' Banks of Ireland for the last twelve years :—

SAVINGS BANKS OF IRELAND.

YEARS ending January 5th.	Paid in.	Drawn out.
	£.	£.
1821	46,615	25,200
1822	82,338	8,030
1823	123,230	11,723
1824	175,292	17,538
1825	207,738	35,047
1826	156,249	87,085
1827	139,080	164,939
1828	254,400	134,608
1829	311,600	179,002
1830	213,020	221,769
1831*	288,875	316,819
1832*	272,193	193,467

The parliamentary efforts for schools and education in Ireland is thus shewn :

Commissioners were appointed under legislative authority in 1806, for the purpose of inquiry into the state and condition of education in Ireland. During the six years ending 1812, *fourteen* reports on education in Ireland were made to Parliament, under authority of the act 46 Geo. III. c. 122. A second Parliamentary Commission on Irish education was issued in

* These returns I add from the National Debt Office.

1824, and continued to 1827, which led to the voluminous reports on the subject.

“ Nor (as the Parliamentary Committee’s Report observes) has the interference of the state been solely confined to regulation and to inquiry: Parliamentary grants have been at various times most liberally made for the purposes of Education. The amount of the expenditure will appear from the following account:

	£.	s.	d.
Charter Schools	1,105,869	0	0
Foundling Hospital	820,005	3	4
Association for discountenancing Vice	101,991	18	6
Kildare-Place Society	170,508	0	0
Lord Lieutenant’s Fund	40,998	0	0
Maynooth College	271,869	18	6
Belfast Institution	4,155	0	0
Cork Institution	43,710	0	0
Hibernian School.....	240,356	1	6
Marine Society	64,262	10	9
Female Orphan School	50,414	10	9
TOTAL	£2,914,140	3	4

So far from the Committees of the Imperial Parliament on Education desiring, as Mr. O’Connell asserts, to perpetuate religious dissention, the very reverse has been the case; in evidence of which it will be sufficient to quote one or two of the resolutions of the Committee: and let it be borne in mind that these resolutions were proposed by three prelates of the established church,—by the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and by several ecclesiastical, as well as lay members of the Protestant community.

1. “ That this Committee, with reference to the opinions above recorded, consider that no system of education can be expedient, which may be calculated to ‘ influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians.’

2. " That it is of the utmost importance to bring together children of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, for the purpose of instructing them in the general subjects of moral and literary knowledge, and providing facilities for their religious instruction *separately*, when differences of creed render it impracticable for them to receive religious instruction together.

3. " That the selection of teachers in the schools of general education should be made *without religious distinction*.

4. " That for the purpose of carrying into effect the combined literary and the *separate religious education* of the scholars, the course of study for four fixed days of the week should be exclusively moral and literary; and that of the two remaining days, the one be appropriated solely to the separate religious instruction of the Protestant children, the other for the separate religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children. In each case no literary instruction to be given, or interference allowed on the part of the teacher, but the whole of this separate religious instruction to be placed under the *exclusive superintendence* of the clergy of the respective communions.

5. " That copies of the New Testament, and of such other religious books as may be printed in the manner hereinafter mentioned, should be provided for the use of the children, to be read in school at such times of *separate* instruction only, and under the direction of the attending clergyman; the established version for the use of the Protestant scholars, and the version published with the approval of the Roman Catholic bishops for the children of that communion.

6. " That it be the invariable rule in each of such schools of general instruction, that the scholars shall attend on Sunday at their *respective places* of worship, unless prevented by some sufficient excuse."

On referring to the report of the Select Committee on the state of trade in Ireland, all the assertions and figures in the 2d Chapter are most fully substantiated. Their remarks are as follows:

“ State of Trade.—The view which your Committee have thus taken of the increasing wealth of Ireland, is fully confirmed by considering the state of her commerce. In Sir Charles Whitworth’s tables, the exports of all Ireland to Great Britain, during the seven years from 1723 to 1729, amounted in value to £2,307,722. In 1829, the exports from the single port of Waterford reached £2,136,934; a sum less by £170,000 only than the whole trade of Ireland for seven years, a century previously. The following table exhibits the progress of the cross-channel trade since the Union, the amount being given in official values.

Years.	Exports to Great Britain.			Imports from all parts.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1801	3,270,350	12	0	4,621,344	16	6
1805	4,067,717	1	7	5,294,967	4	11
1809	5,316,557	5	1	6,896,821	18	10
1813	6,746,353	12	10	5,797,286	21	0
1817	4,722,766		3	5,646,563	3	9
1821	5,338,838	4	6	6,407,427	15	9
1825	7,048,936	5	6	8,596,785	8	11

“ Great as has been the progress of the exports of Ireland, the increased consumption of British manufactures has been still more rapid. The quantity of British manufactures consumed in Ireland has quadrupled since the year 1793; whilst the quantity of Irish produce has little more than tripled in the same period. But as the exports of Ireland consist almost exclusively of raw produce, in order to estimate the exact condition of the country, as marked by increasing consumption, your Committee direct the particular attention of the House to the following table, which gives the increasing amount of cotton manufactures, cotton-wool, tallow and coals, imported from Great Britain into Ireland.

Years.	Cotton Manufacture entered by the Yard.	Cotton Wool.	Tallow.	Coals.
		lbs.	Cwts,	Tons.
1801	44,314	147,028	16,679	315,345
1805	59,874	569,268	7,171	412,515
1809	205,110	1,242,864	408	402,040
1813	214,783	1,319,920	8,726	517,047
1817	541,900	971,922	3,590	712,988
1821	968,369	1,627,994	35,550	651,902
1825	4,996,885	2,122,774	131,912	798,453

The tonnage inwards to Ireland from Great Britain was, in 1801, 582,003 tons, and in 1829, 1,292,041 tons. The Committee observe that "No general account of the trade between Ireland and Great Britain can be rendered subsequent to 1825; the commercial intercourse having, from the termination of that year, been assimilated to a coasting trade. But there can be no doubt that there has been a very great progressive increase during the last five years. The foreign trade of Ireland having continued progressive, and the general tonnage being greatly increased, it is not to be doubted but that the British imports have augmented at the least in the same ratio."

Numerous tables are given to corroborate the statement of the Committee that "increased activity of internal traffic has been commensurate with the extension of general commerce;" it will be sufficient to mention that the tonnage on the Grand Canal was, in 1821 and 1822, 276,561 tons, and in 1828—1829, 382,131 tons. The tonnage down the river Barrow was, in 1807, 13,861 tons, and in 1828, 31,731. "Connected," says the report, "with this branch of the subject, your Committee have learned with satisfaction that the banking business of Ireland is now placed on a much better foundation than at former times." (p. 14.)

* The quantity of coals imported in 1829 was tons 921,043.

The next subject discussed by the Committee is well deserving the attention of the advocates for "Repealing the Union."

"The effects of Steam Navigation between Great Britain and Ireland, and its tendency, in many most important respects, to raise the condition of the poor, have occupied much of the attention of your Committee. The political and moral consequences likely to attend this great and salutary change, are in the highest degree important; but it is chiefly with its commercial and economical effects which your Committee have felt it their duty to deal. In 1824, the first steamer was established between Dublin and Liverpool, by Mr. C. W. Williams, a witness examined before your Committee, and whose active public spirit entitles him to the highest commendation. At present a capital of £671,000 is engaged in steam communication across the channel; 42 steam-vessels have been established, of 8,423 tons by registry. From the time a sailing vessel was first prepared to start from Liverpool, to the time of her arrival in Dublin, a week might be calculated as a fair average for her passage. By steam the voyage is performed in fourteen hours. The number of voyages effected in the year is in the proportion of about seven to one in favour of steam, as compared with sailing packets. The results of this intercourse are most useful and most curious. 'The small inland trader now finds his way into the English market with what he has to sell, and he buys there what he wishes to retail in his own district.' Steam navigation has given to Ireland the best and dearest market for her agricultural produce of all sorts; and the best, because the cheapest market from whence to bring manufactured goods in return. Traders now bring from the manufacturing districts of England the smallest quantity of any description of goods, and this is effected in two or three days. The effect is of the last importance with reference to the quantity of business done with the same capital. It is stated by Mr. Williams that not one-fourth of the capital is now wanting to carry on the same extent of business; and he adds, 'I anticipate that will shortly lead to the erection of shops and other establishments in the interior of Ireland, for the sale of a vast variety of articles that

are not now to be had there.' Some of the small dealers who were formerly turning but a few hundred pounds a-year, can now turn £10,000 in the same articles; fifty tons weight of eggs, and ten tons of live and dead poultry, are sometimes shipped from Dublin in a single day. It is observed truly, that the sale of these articles adds more to the wealth of the tenant than to the landlord's rent; thus tending to the immediate comfort of the peasantry. Another witness informed your Committee, that since 1824, in eggs alone, a branch of trade entirely new, there have been exported from Dublin only to the value of £273,000 distributable among the poorer classes. Cattle are brought from Ballinasloe, in the county of Galway, to Liverpool, in little more than three days; they are sent in boats by the Grand Canal, transhipped at Dublin, and landed on the quay at Liverpool within the fourth day. The change in the usages of commerce produced by the introduction of steam has pressed heavily upon some of the mercantile classes, as stated by Mr. Roe and Mr. Wyse: 'There is no longer any scope for the employment of large capitals in extensive wholesale transactions;' but any injury produced in this way is compensated, and much more than compensated, by the benefits conferred on the smaller capitalists, and on the community in general.

"Steam has also been applied to the navigation of the river Shannon, with the most important and beneficial consequences. In three years, the tonnage on the Middle Shannon has augmented seven-fold. On this, as on other subjects, your Committee recommend the evidence of Mr. Williams to the attention of the House; and they consider the improvement and extension of the internal navigation of Ireland to be a matter entitled to the earliest and most serious consideration."

I will conclude my extracts from the "Report" with one extract relative to the subdivision of land and the cottier system.

"The present difficulties of the situation of Ireland rather appear to be incidental to a transition from one system to another, than any which can be considered as permanent.

'The change that is now taking place in Ireland,' observes Mr. Musgrave, is analogous to those changes which have occurred in almost every country that has advanced to a certain degree of improvement; particularly in England, in the time of Henry the 7th. In many parts of Germany a similar change is now going on; for instance, in Westphalia, where it produces the same consequences. Persons from Westphalia are found wandering over other parts of Germany in the same way that Irish labourers come to England. The same also occurs in Silesia, where the linen manufactory is declining.' In describing the system of consolidating farms in Scotland, Dr. Chalmers remarks, 'I am not sensible that it had the effect of lowering the condition of the poor.* I have no doubt that they would experience the evils of a transition state. It has given rise to the erection of a great many country hamlets, which have swollen into villages, and are chiefly occupied by country artificers.' Mr. Bicheno, the secretary to the Linnæan Society, remarks, 'In examining the old authors, about the time of Elizabeth and James, all the facts that are stated by them bear me out in saying, that the condition of the peasantry in this country in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was very similar to what now exists in Ireland. This similarity will particularly be found as regards the cottier system of husbandry, where a family have a small piece of land, and cultivate it by their own industry. The analogy certainly tends to establish the fact that Ireland is now in a transition state, the ultimate consequences of which will be useful to the country, however severe the pressure may be for the time on individuals. The cottier system, though at a certain stage contributing to the happiness of those who pursue it, has still a strong tendency to create a subdivision of land, till at the last it becomes too small to support the occupant.'"

* Dr. Chalmers says, there are 200,000 paupers begging from door to door in Scotland. In some parts, blood is drawn from living cattle in winter, and mixed with oatmeal for food!

APPENDIX II.

THERE are so many witnesses, and such irrefragable testimony as to the state of the provincial towns in Ireland, that it is impossible to avoid making a few condensations of the evidence as it presses itself upon my notice at every page of the volumes, open them where I will.

Mr. Livingstone, of Ballina in Connaught, gives in a valuable table relative to some of the trade of that almost new port. It will be sufficient to give two of the first and two of the latter years combined.

TRADE OF BALLINA.

Years.	Vessels Exporting.		Vessels importing British Goods.		Vessels importing Foreign Goods.		Tons of Oats.	Tons of Barley.
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.		
1817-18.....	91	6,338	40	1,194	0	0	5,450	92
1828-29.....	263	24,143	105	8,095	19	2,114	22,631	352
Incréase..	172	17,805	65	6,901	19	2,114	16,181	260

“ In 1817, Ballina had a population of 6,800 souls, in 1829 of upwards of 10,000 inhabitants ; the houses built are of an improved description ; they are a very respectable style of houses, built of materials contributing to the improvement of the revenue ; these have establishments and extensive establish-

ments in the way of mills, breweries, &c. Until lately there was only a very small brewery and a still smaller mill; now (1829) there are two respectable breweries and two or three mills, in which flour and oatmeal, to a considerable extent, is manufactured, and which is not brought to account in the statement just given, and the consumption of flour is augmenting in the county. Business has increased eight or ten fold; there is a considerable importation of timber. Until recently the mails were carried on horseback, they are now conveyed by mail-coach drawn by four horses. The habits of the people are certainly improving; their clothing is better, and their houses in the town and in the country considerably altered for the better. The number of bakehouses in the villages have been extended; and there has been a considerable extension of the banking system, with a feeling of great satisfaction and entire confidence."—*Part II. p. 132. April 8, 1830.*

The next page I open is the evidence of Captain Robert Owen, relative to the county of Wexford, which county he says is "in a state of very rapid improvement: there is a superior mode of ploughing, a better kind of all agricultural implements, and, generally speaking, a better management of the farms. The number of *slated* houses is increasing every day. There are now two very extensive distilleries, and several breweries in the county. The roads of every description, mail coach as well as by-roads, have very considerably improved of late, as have also of the means of transport. All description of carts and public carriages have increased very materially: there are now (1830) no less than *four* public carriages *daily* between Gorey and Dublin; when I first went there (thirteen years ago) there was but *one*. Several modes of communication have been introduced into the county and neighbourhood for the accommodation of the middling and lower classes; two jaunting cars now take passengers to Dublin at a very cheap rate, and in all respects the facilities of transport, both of individuals and commodities, is very greatly augmented; and, in fine, literary

education is very considerably diffused and is being extended.”—
8th April 1830, p. 124.

“The state of Waterford next presents itself. The tonnage of the port of Waterford was :

In 1824-25.....	Tons 176,216
1829-30	241,397
Increase.....	Tons 65,181

EXPORTS from WATERFORD, on Two periods of Two Years each.

Periods.	Horned Cattle, No.	Sheep, No.	Pigs, No.	Butter, Cwts.	Flour, Cwts.	Oatmeal, Cwts.	Barley, Barrels.
1823-24	705	1,272	26,181	234,691	462,898	13,954	21,120
1828-29	4,533	18,482	64,937	335,229	682,702	24,663	28,222
Increase	3,828	17,210	37,756	100,538	219,804	10,709	7,102

“The amount of goods and live stock exported from Waterford in *one year* (1829) was £2,136,934; while the whole trade in exports from Ireland to Great Britain for *seven years* ending 1729 was but £2,307,722.”—p. 89, *Part 2d*, Mr. Musgrave's Evidence.

Who, after the reading of these statements, can have the audacity to assert that Ireland has been injured by her Union with England.

Mr. Musgrave proceeds to state, that “in Waterford county agricultural implements, carts, ploughs, and harrows have indeed improved very much within his recollection; that literary education has augmented (p. 81); that absenteeism is decreasing, but that whether a great proprietor resides in Belfast or in Yorkshire, it makes *no* difference in the improvement of the estate (p. 80). There is very great improvement among the better class of persons; the number of slated houses are in-

creasing very considerably, as are also the farm offices, the cow houses, barns, &c ; the clothing of the people is much better ; in country villages and towns there are a much greater number of bakers than there were a few years ago, and new means of transport for the conveyance of the middling classes have been introduced throughout Waterford (p. 77). A large cotton factory has been established in the neighbourhood of Waterford by Mr. Malcomson with considerable advantage, and giving employment to 600 persons, principally ejected cottiers, whose condition is now better than it had ever previously been. The same spirited gentleman has established a manufactory for flour, the shipments of which have increased very much ; for instance, from 1815 to 1819 there were cwts. of flour exported by Mr. Malcomson 34,398 ; and from 1825 to 1829 cwts. 357,618." (p. 74.)

The next page I open relates to Limerick, and here also we hear of prosperity. Mr. Browne, proprietor of a very large distillery in the south of Ireland, says, " There has been a great increase in the exports and imports of the port of Limerick (p. 40.) The estimated value of the exports for three years ending 1822 was £1,685,256, and for three years ending 1829, the value had increased to £2,279,914. The amount of grain sold in the Limerick market for three years ending 1822 was £1,007,124. Ditto ending 1829, £1,386,897." (p. 13.)

EXPORTS from LIMERICK in Two Periods of Two Years each.

Periods.	Butter.	Bacon.	Lard.	Pork.	Wheat.	Oats.	Flour.	Feathers.	Beans.
	Firkins.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Tierces.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Cwts.	Bags.	Bushels.
1820-21 ..	81,078	36,469	1,488	10,945	157,898	586,285	7,859	560	50
1828-29 ..	159,420	85,190	9,500	15,141	266,246	680,804	26,505	1,000	7,673
Increase	78,342	48,621	8,02	4,196	108,448	74,519	18,726	440	7,623

The foregoing statements are from the Chamber of Commerce at Limerick, and authenticated by Mr. Browne, who also bears testimony to the improved condition of the country : “ Within the last twenty years,” says the same witness, “ I think the people have more comforts than they used to have ; on Sundays and holidays you can see that they are much better clothed than they were twenty years ago ; there are more bake-houses than formerly, very improved vehicles, a greater number of slated houses occupied by farmers than there was wont to be, and considerably more land cultivated now than formerly ;” (p. 39 and 40). This is sufficient testimony as to Limerick county.

With respect to the county of Clare, Mr. Wilson states, that “ agriculture is improved ; that the condition of the holders of farms from eight to ten acres has generally improved in the last few years, and the clothing of the people very much improved ;” (p. 178). “ A vast number of the farmers of the county of Clare are now enabled to adopt slated coverings for their houses instead of thatch : the slate quarries of Killaloe have been worked very considerably of late years by the Irish Mining Company, and six or seven quarries have been advantageously worked by private individuals ;” (p. 181).

We may now turn to examine the state of Cork. The tonnage reported at the Custom-house of Cork was, in

		General.		Coasters.		Colliers.
1823-24	 Tons	112,209	....	123,319	....	36,054
1828-29	 Do.	144,156	....	145,289	....	102,758
Increase ..	Tons	32,947	....	21,970	....	66,704

Five steamers, with engines of 130 horse power each, have been established since 1825 ; these steamers together with others ply between Cork, Liverpool, Bristol, and Dublin.

The quantity of barrels of wheat and barley sold in Cork-market was, in

	Wheat.	Bushels.
1823-24	50,585	71,576
1828-29	98,964	103,131
Increase .. Bushels	48,379	31,555

The firkins of butter weighed was, in

1824-25	Firkins	471,255
1829-30	Do.	560,030
Increase	Firkins	88,775

The gentleman who gave in these statements, Mr. Barry, inspector-general of fisheries in the South of Ireland, says, that “the moral and practical improvement of the people has been exceeding rapid within the last ten years; that the people are better clothed, particularly the females.” This witness states also, what Mr. O’Connell ought to attend to, namely, that “some of the greatest improvements in Ireland are owing to the labourers who migrate to England bringing back with them habits of industry and providence, and a greater degree of civilization.” (p. 202).

Mr. De la Cour observes, that ‘the condition of the people of Cork county has materially improved of late years, their habits and manners having improved; they are better clothed; the condition of the females is signally improved; there is a growing taste for articles of English manufacture; the agricultural implements are better; the number of slated houses has increased; and the distress which exists is in the manufacturing population, partly arising from unforeseen and uncontrollable causes, and partly from the system of combination existing among the mechanics. There is an improved spirit among the higher and middling classes, as well as among the lower; party feeling and religious differences are subsiding

[Mr. O'Connell still prevents this grateful change taking place], and education is generally extending ;" (p. 238).

Mr. Bailee bears testimony to the fact, that the physical condition of the peasantry in the North of Ireland is considerably improved ; their food and clothing is better, and sectarianism declining (in 1830) ; and there is a great spirit of charity, from the highest to the lowest order of the nation. (p. 242.) The county of Roscommon, from being a pasture county seven years ago, is now a very extensive corn county. (p. 610, part iv.) With respect to the county of Carlow, the corn trade down the Barrow has increased from 2,800 quarters in 1813, to 15,000 quarters in 1828. Mr. Newenham, after forty years experience and residence in Ireland, says " the condition of the people has been advancing ; they are vastly better clothed ; we see very few at the present day without shoes or stockings, and forty years ago, not one-quarter of the inhabitants of Ireland had shoes and stockings ; there is an improvement in the towns, and a very great deal of improvement in the habitations of the farmers." (p. 617, part iv.)

Mr. Newenham says (what those who like him have visited Ireland and the continent must confirm), that the poorer class of the Irish are better off than those of the same class in France and Italy. Mr. Greer, speaking of the county of Armagh, says, " there has been a very visible improvement in the condition of the peasantry generally, in the general character of their habitations, in improved clothing, and the consumption of wheaten bread has considerably increased ; there have been, and it is continuing, an increase of flour-mills ; the mode of farming has decidedly improved, and the consumption of tea and sugar has increased. All the linen that the weavers bring to market is sold ; and I do not know any man that is able to work, or that has been so for two or three years, that cannot get work ;" (part iii. p. 357). Mr. Blake says, " the imports of Ireland have considerably increased, and they have been paid for by increasing wealth ;" (part iii. p. 356.)

Mr. Wiggins, an English gentleman of Tavistock-place,

Russell-square, who has visited Ireland always *once*, sometimes two or three times a year for the last twenty-two years, informed the Committee that he has observed a very great improvement in the condition of the people, in every respect ; in clothing, habits of cleanliness, regularity and order. (part iii. p. 359.) Their habitations have considerably improved ; they are not now content with the same miserable hut that they had twenty years ago ; they wish to have three rooms instead of one ; to keep the cattle separate from the children, and to sleep themselves separate from their children ; they wish to have windows and doors, which they had not formerly ; and even when the cabin is built by themselves, they will build it on a better place and with more comforts and conveniences, than they had before." (part iii. p. 369, 360.)

Mr. Brodigan, who resides in the county of Louth, stated that the trade of the Eastern parts of Ireland has considerably improved, and that agriculture is increasing by reason of the beneficial and extensive markets which the ports of England afford for the farmer's produce ; and there is an improvement in the internal comfort and appearance of the farmers and of the peasantry (part iii. p. 874. Mr. Fanning, one of the Directors of the Grand Canal, since 1810 (the extent of which is 156 miles) says, "that there is a very considerable improvement in the condition of the people, and in the state of agriculture along the line of the canal ; and large quantities of bog and marsh land have been brought into cultivation and tillage ;" (part iii. p. 389). Mr. Wm. Stockley, an extensive mail and stage-coach proprietor in Ireland, says, that "the condition of the people, of their towns, and of their shops, in the North and in the South, and on the Wexford line (particularly at Cork), is evidently improving. That in the vicinity of Dublin the condition of the lower orders is improving ; that the peasantry who formerly travelled on foot, now journey as outside stage-coach passengers ; that the dress of the people is better ; and at places of country amusements you see people on jaunting cars, who formerly used to come on common cars with a bundle

of straw and a quilt over it; while by reason of the facility of intercourse between England and Ireland, it is quite astonishing to see the number of traders in cattle who have risen up, and are now travelling about with hundreds in their pockets, who formerly could not buy half a score of pigs" (p. 390).

This witness gave in the following table of public conveyances in Ireland since the Union, within his own knowledge, which is a most convincing document as to Mr. O'Connell's monstrous assertion, that Ireland has rapidly retrograded since the Union.

PUBLIC CONVEYANCES in 5 PARTS of IRELAND, since 1800.

	Dublin.	Belfast.	Cork.	Limerick.	Derry.	Total.
1800.						
Mail Coaches....	4	1	1	1	0	7
Stage Coaches ..	8	0	0	0	0	8
Caravans	0	0	0	0	0	0
Passengers.....	151	5	5	5	0	166
1820.						
Mail Coaches....	11	4	4	2	1	22
Stage Coaches ..	20	4	3	3	0	30
Caravans	0	2	0	1	0	3
Passengers.....	389	126	83	58	5	661
1829.						
Mail Coaches....	13	4	6	4	3	30
Stage Coaches ..	22	6	4	3	0	35
Caravans	12	4	0	1	0	17
Passengers.....	612	179	118	94	24	1,027

Thus we find that on the first and last periods, mail-coaches had increased from 7 to 30; stage ditto from 8 to 35; caravans from 0 to 17, and passengers from 166 to 1027.

Mr. Fanning, twenty years director of the Grand Canal, when speaking of the improvement of the country, gave in a large table shewing the increase of internal commerce: the tonnage on the Grand Canal in 1821-22 was 277,561 tons, and in 1828-29, 384,161 tons.

Mr. Williams a director to the Dublin Steam Company, says that steam navigation commenced between England and Ireland in 1824, and there are now forty steam-vessels plying between both islands. All the Irish ports, from Londonderry round to Cork, have their *separate* establishments trading direct with England—namely, Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork. The competition is so great that pigs, for instance, are carried from Dundalk to Liverpool for *one penny each!* The effect of steam navigation is to supersede the necessity of large capitalists in trade, and give productive employment to people in secondary lines of business. Small Irish traders go to the manufacturing towns of England themselves, and are, of course, enabled to sell on much better terms; hence the increase of shops and business. A very considerable improvement is visible in the appearance of the people. The inhabitants of Liverpool are quite aware of the altered appearance of even the Irish reapers; they no longer come in the tattered clothes they formerly appeared in; they are getting ashamed of the old clothes, and are apparently a different class of persons. (p. 262.)

The bringing over of improved breeds of pigs and cattle from England to Ireland is now more frequent than formerly. The increase in the export of pigs is almost incredible; a new trade has arisen in *fresh* butter, brought to England by the very persons who prepare it in very small quantities, and who find a ready market for it, along with their eggs. “In one week 100 firkins of fresh butter have been carried by the inland companies from Limerick, deliverable in Liverpool.”

But why proceed with further evidence as to the improved condition of Ireland since her Union with Great Britain? I might fill several volumes with testimony as indubitable and facts as convincing as those now detailed, but what result could be expected?—Would Mr. O’Connell and his followers pay attention to them? No—they would still shout, “Repeal the withering, the ruinous Union!” But the sober-minded and

reasoning portion of the community will, I rest assured, be satisfied with the statements adduced, and which I am only prevented proceeding with, by reason that I have stopped the press to add this Appendix, and am unwilling to delay longer the issuing of my work;—a work which has no claim to merit on behalf of the compiler, for it is a mere register of facts, while the highest reward for the trouble of collecting and placing them in order is the consciousness that the author feels, of having endeavoured to fulfil his duty to his King and to his country.

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Martin, Robert Montgomery,

Ireland, as it was ... is, and ought to be with a comparative statistical
Chart of the population, houses, value of agricultural produce ...

London 1833

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